













THE BACH MANUSCRIPTS  
OF JOHANN PETER KELLNER  
AND HIS CIRCLE

SOURCES OF MUSIC

AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

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THE BACH MANUSCRIPTS  
OF JOHANN PETER KELLNER  
AND HIS CIRCLE

*A Case Study in Reception History*

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RUSSELL STINSON



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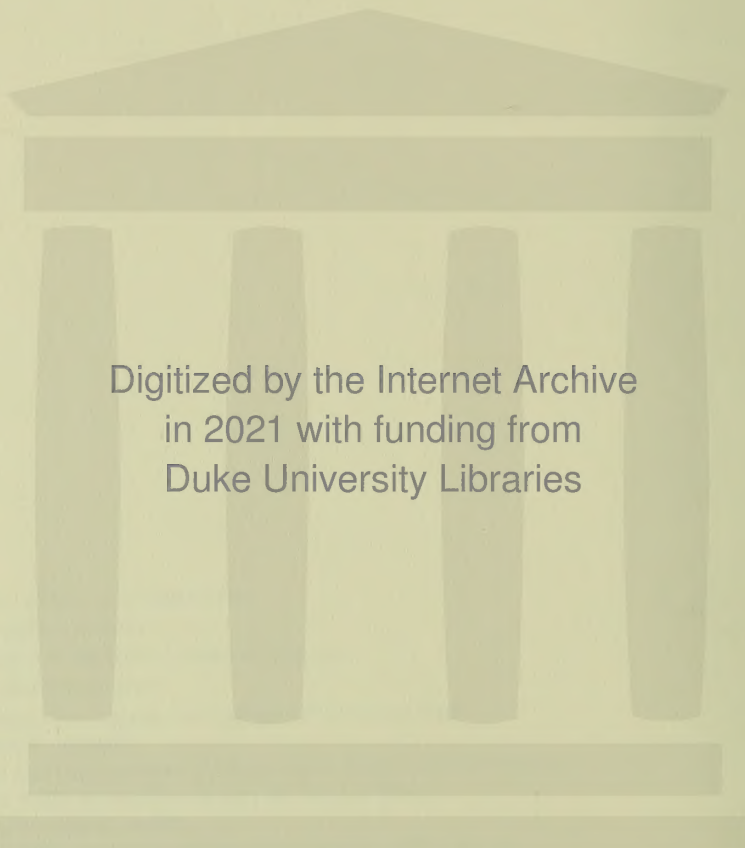
To my wife and children

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# CONTENTS

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Acknowledgments ix

Tables and Figures xi

Abbreviations xv

I Introduction 1

II The Scribes and the Sources 13

III Kellner's Reliability as a Scribe and His Copy  
of the Sonatas and Partitas for  
Unaccompanied Violin 55

IV Kellner as Copyist and Transcriber? A Look  
at Three Organ Arrangements 71

V Kellner's Copies as Keys to Bach Chronology:  
Observations on Three Keyboard Works 101

VI Some Miscellaneous Problems of  
Authenticity and Authorship 121

Appendix 145

Notes 153

Index to Cited Works of Bach 175

General Index 179





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## TABLES AND FIGURES

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### TABLES

1. Kellner's Bach Copies 23
2. Kellner-Circle Copies with Extant Exemplars 26
3. Watermark Distribution in the Kellner-Circle Copies 27
4. The Bach Copies of W. N. Mey 33
5. The Bach Copies of Johannes Ringk 37
6. The Bach Copies of J. A. G. Wechmar 39
7. Bach Copies by Anonymous Scribes 42

### FIGURES

1. Johann Peter Kellner (1705–72): silhouette (ca. 1770)–Bach Museum, Eisenach 14
2. Kellner's copy of the Prelude and Fugue in A Minor (BWV 894), dated 1725: handwriting phase 1, middle–Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz (SPK), Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/29, f. 4<sup>v</sup> 21
3. Kellner's copy of the Sonata in E Minor for Flute and Continuo (BWV 1034), first movement: handwriting phase 2, early–Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/23, f. 1<sup>v</sup> 22
4. Kellner's and Mey's copy of the Prelude in G Minor (BWV 535/1): Kellner, handwriting phase 3, early; Mey, early handwriting phase–Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/55, f. 3<sup>v</sup> 32
5. Mey's copy of the "Imitatio" in B Minor (BWV 563/2): late handwriting phase–Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/48, f. 1<sup>v</sup> 34

6. Ringk's copy of the Prelude in G Major (BWV 541/1): Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 595/6, f. 1<sup>r</sup> 36
7. Kellner's copy of the Fugue in A Major on a Theme by Albinoni (BWV 950), transposed to G Major: handwriting phase 1, early-Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/51, f. 2<sup>v</sup> 58
8. Kellner's copy of the Chaconne from the Partita in D Minor (BWV 1004), dated 3 July 1726; handwriting phase 1, late-Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/22, f. 12<sup>v</sup> – 63
9. Kellner's copy of the Fugue from the Sonata in C Major (BWV 1005), dated 3 July 1726: handwriting phase 1, late-Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/22, ff. 7<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>r</sup> 68
10. Kellner's copy of the organ transcription of the first movement: handwriting phase 4, early-Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/12, ff. 1<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>r</sup> 76
11. Copy by an anonymous scribe of the organ transcription of the second movement–Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 288/4, f. 2<sup>v</sup> 83
12. The form of the fourth movement of BWV 1027/1039 97
13. Kellner's copy of the Fantasy in A Minor (BWV 904/1): handwriting phase 3, late-Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/25, f. 1<sup>v</sup> 104
14. The form of the Fantasy in A Minor (BWV 904/1) 108
15. Kellner's copy of the Pastorale in F Major (BWV 590), second movement and beginning of third movement: handwriting phase 3, late-Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 287/6, f. 2<sup>v</sup> 112
16. Anonymous 5's copy of the Prelude and Fugue in A Minor (BWV 895)–Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/9, f. 1<sup>v</sup> 126
17. Kellner's copy of the Fughetta in B-flat Major (BWV 907/2): handwriting phase 3, early-Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/18, f. 1<sup>v</sup> 128



18. Frischmuth's copy of the Fugue in E Minor (BWV 956)–Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/8, f. 1<sup>v</sup> 131
19. Anonymous 3's copy of the Concerto in D Minor after Marcello (BWV 974), last movement, followed by modulatory passage (bottom system)–Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/4, f. 4<sup>v</sup> 133
20. Anonymous 3's copy of the Gigue in G Major (BWV Anh. 81)–Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/4, f. 5<sup>r</sup> 134
21. Anonymous 5's copy of the Fugue in C Major (BWV Anh. 90)–Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/54, f. 1<sup>v</sup> 136
22. Mey's copy of the Sonata in A Major (BWV Anh. 153), first movement: late handwriting phase–Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/43, f. 2<sup>r</sup> 138
23. Mey's copy of the Sonata in A Major (BWV Anh. 153), third movement: late handwriting phase–Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/43, f. 3<sup>v</sup> 139
24. Mey's copy of the Sonata in A Major (BWV Anh. 153), fourth movement: late handwriting phase–Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/43, f. 1<sup>r</sup> 140



## ABBREVIATIONS

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- BDok** *Bach-Dokumente*, ed. Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, 4 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1963–78)
- BG** Bach-Gesellschaft edition. *Johann Sebastian Bachs Werke*, 47 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1851–99)
- BJ** *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1904–)
- BR** *The Bach Reader*, ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel (New York: W. W. Norton, 1945; second edition, 1966)
- BuxWV** Buxtehude-Werke-Verzeichnis. Georg Karstädt, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Dietrich Buxtehude* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1974)
- BWV** Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis. Wolfgang Schmieder, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1950; seventh edition, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1980)
- DSB** Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (German Democratic Republic)
- KB** Kritischer Bericht (critical report of the NBA)
- mbLpz** Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig
- NBA** Neue Bach-Ausgabe. *Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1954–)
- P** Partitur (music score) (abbreviation used by the DSB and SPK)

SPK	Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz (West Berlin)
st	Stimmen (performing parts) (abbreviation used by the DSB and SPK)
twv	Telemann-Werke-Verzeichnis. Martin Ruhnke, <i>Georg Philipp Telemann: Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke, Instrumental Werke 1</i> (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984)



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

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What is meant by "reception history" (or its more familiar German equivalent "Rezeptionsgeschichte") is the study of artworks as reflected in the responses of critics, audiences, and artists.<sup>1</sup> As a branch of historical musicology it has always flourished, and it has chosen Johann Sebastian Bach as its subject more often than any other composer.

There are some obvious reasons why Bach's music has had such appeal to reception historians. Its "rediscovery" in the early nineteenth century, after all, "marked the first time that a great composer, after a period of neglect, was accorded his rightful place by a later generation" and, as an early example of a new historicism, "eventually opened all periods of Western music to discovery and performance."<sup>2</sup>

The vigor and intensity of the Bach revival were so decisive that most of the research conducted on Bach reception history has tended to focus on the nineteenth century. But this is not to imply that scholars have been uninterested in how Bach's music was received during his lifetime and the fifty years after his death. They have long studied the aesthetic responses to it recorded in eighteenth-century sources and, considering the many items that still await detailed examination, will probably continue this line of investigation for some time to come.

These aesthetic responses do tell us something about how Bach's contemporaries and immediate successors viewed his music. Yet they are frequently of a general nature, providing no clues whatever as to the particular works that prompted them in the first place. Johann Mattheson's report of 1717, the first reference to Bach in print, is typical: "I have seen things by the famous organist of Weimar, Mr. Joh. Sebastian

Bach, both for the church and for the fist, that are certainly such as must make one esteem the man highly.”<sup>3</sup>

Besides his obvious admiration for Bach as a composer of keyboard music and sacred vocal works, little can be deduced from Mattheson’s words. Judging from what has survived of Bach’s sacred vocal output up to 1717 the “things . . . for the church” are sacred cantatas, for there is little else extant. But one wonders which cantatas could have made such a positive impression on Mattheson since the only Bach cantata he is known to have been acquainted with is one he ridiculed for its repetitive text declamation.<sup>4</sup> And by “things . . . for the fist” does he mean organ or harpsichord music, and what genres of organ or harpsichord music does he have in mind?

The lack of documentation precludes any real answers. Could it be demonstrated, though, that if Mattheson at the time of his report owned a manuscript containing this or that Bach cantata or keyboard work, one would clearly be in a better position to entertain questions like these. It is not entirely out of the question that one day such evidence will surface, given the strong interest today in the eighteenth-century manuscript copies of Bach’s music.

Manuscript *copies* of Bach’s music are manuscripts in the hand of someone other than Bach or, to put it another way, manuscripts in the hand of a *copyist* instead of the composer. Mattheson’s hypothetical Bach source would most likely have been a manuscript rather than a printed copy, simply because printed music of any type was a rarity in eighteenth-century Germany. The printing process was costly by today’s standards—which in itself was an impediment to publication—and even when composers were lucky enough to have their music published, relatively few copies were ever issued. If a musician wanted to add a composition to his library he usually had little choice but to copy it out by hand.

Not surprisingly, manuscript copies are frequently the by-products of student-teacher relationships. We know, for instance, that Bach taught his own keyboard works to his keyboard pupils and that the pupils prepared manuscript copies of these compositions during the period of instruction.<sup>5</sup> Whether Bach required his students to make their own copies because he was reluctant to let them practice from his or whether the students took it upon themselves to prepare copies (for whatever reasons) are moot questions. The important realization is that these pupils prepared manuscript copies from which their pupils (Bach’s

grand-pupils), in turn, prepared manuscript copies from which *their* pupils (Bach's great grand-pupils), in turn, prepared manuscript copies and so forth, ad infinitum.

Of course, not all of the eighteenth-century manuscript copies of Bach's music stem from the "pupils-of-pupils" line of transmission. Bach's colleagues diligently copied his music as well and they allowed their manuscripts to be copied by *their* colleagues and pupils. The result was a scribal network that, by virtue of its many channels, covered a good deal of Germany. It can scarcely be questioned, therefore, that the "copyists-of-copyists" legacy was the chief means by which Bach's music was disseminated throughout Europe during the eighteenth century.

It is arguable that these manuscript copies are just as important for reception historians as are the aesthetic responses discussed above.<sup>6</sup> Rarely do they tell us anything about the scribe's attitude toward the music.<sup>7</sup> But they do make it possible to establish incontrovertibly a number of important facts about the music that the aesthetic responses often do not yield: they tell us precisely what Bach works were known, when they were known, who knew them, and where they were known. Armed with this factual data, it is easier to discuss the various roles that the works might have played in eighteenth-century musical life. For example, if we know an eighteenth-century copyist of a large number of Bach organ works to have been a church organist, organ recitalist, organ pedagogue, and composer of organ music, it seems likely enough that he played them during worship services, included them on his recitals, taught them to his students, and emulated them in his own organ compositions. The likelihood becomes greater still when we know from other sources just how greatly the copyist admired Bach's music.

One such copyist was the Gräfenroda cantor, Johann Peter Kellner, unquestionably one of the most important copyists in the sources for Bach's instrumental works, particularly the keyboard music. Besides being personally acquainted with Bach, he was a prolific copyist of Bach's music. His Bach copies that have survived total forty-six manuscripts and it appears that several others have disappeared. Due to the dearth of autograph material, in many instances a Kellner copy is the earliest extant source for a Bach work and in a few cases the only source. Similar statements could be made about the Bach copies made by Kellner's students and copyists.

The importance of the Kellner circle in the dissemination of Bach's music has been acknowledged for years and it may therefore come as a

surprise that these manuscripts have never been singled out for a large- or even small-scale study. Why no such study has been undertaken is hard to say but most likely two fundamental obstacles are to blame: Kellner's students and copyists mimicked his handwriting, making it difficult to distinguish their copies from his; and very few of the sources are dated, which means, of course, that proposing a chronology is problematic. At any rate, these two stumbling blocks are clearly the reason why the little information that has been published on these sources is largely contradictory and incomplete. This study aims to rectify the misinformation, to fill in the lacunae. It purports not only to make a contribution to Bach reception history but also to shed light on the chronology, compositional history, and authenticity of the music itself.

It would be helpful at this juncture to consider the Kellner circle within the overall context of the Bach tradition of eighteenth-century Germany. As various authors have demonstrated, although Bach's music may have been forgotten to some degree shortly after his death only to be rescued from near-oblivion in the early decades of the 1800s, it was championed by a small cult of dedicated followers in Germany throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>8</sup> These disciples grouped themselves into various circles, the most important belonging to the cities of Leipzig and Berlin and the villages of Thuringia.

Obviously Leipzig must be considered *the* leading Bach center prior to Bach's death. Bach lived there far longer than in any other city or town, serving as cantor at St. Thomas's Church and municipal music director from 1723 until his death in 1750. As the highest-ranking musician in the city, he had his music performed there whenever he desired. We can hardly refer to the vocalists and instrumentalists who participated in these performances as "disciples" when they were doing merely what Bach required of them. But Leipzig did have its share of Bach enthusiasts, like the many keyboard pupils Bach attracted throughout his tenure there. (As we shall see shortly, the Berlin and Thuringian Bach circles owed much of their makeup to these Leipzig pupils.) Bach drew support from other domains too, like the city's academic community, where he counted the rhetorician Birnbaum among his followers. His music, both vocal and instrumental, received more performances in Leipzig than anywhere else, and the performances were authoritative in the strictest sense of the word since Bach led them himself.

After Bach's death and the death of his second wife Anna Magdalena in 1760, the library of St. Thomas's School came into possession of nu-



merous manuscript performing parts to Bach's sacred vocal works, making it the only depository of such materials anywhere. These materials were used by Bach's successors at St. Thomas's to perform his vocal music—particularly the motets—at the church throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. Performances of Bach's vocal music outside of Leipzig during these years are virtually unheard of (because performing parts were not available elsewhere) except in Halle and Hamburg where Bach's eldest sons, Wilhelm Friedemann and Carl Philipp Emanuel, respectively, performed their father's church cantatas from manuscripts they had inherited.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, Bach's keyboard music (and his instrumental music in general) appears to have played a very limited role in Leipzig at this time (another trait that distinguishes the Leipzig circle from those in Berlin and Thuringia). Its neglect can be explained by the fact that Bach's keyboard pupils had long since moved on and had taken their manuscript copies with them.

Several of these pupils traveled north to Berlin, which, during the second half of the eighteenth century, could boast of more Bach aficionados than any other city. (These aficionados introduced Baron van Swieten to Bach's music, thereby paving the way for the Viennese Bach movement of the late eighteenth century.) And the presence of so many Bach pupils and devotees guaranteed that Bach works would circulate in manuscript there.

Even though Bach pupils had settled in Berlin as early as 1738, it was Bach's death in 1750 that enabled the city to become a major center for the transmission of his works. Shortly after Bach's death, many of the autographs and original performing parts of his music were divided between his sons C. P. E., Wilhelm Friedemann, Johann Christoph Friedrich, and Johann Christian, as well as Anna Magdalena. C. P. E. had lived in Berlin since 1738 and he took on his younger brother, Johann Christian, as a boarder almost immediately after their father's death (Christian stayed with C. P. E. for four years). The division of Bach's estate in 1750 brought into Berlin for the first time a collection of primary Bach sources, not only those inherited by C. P. E. but presumably those inherited by his younger brother too.<sup>10</sup> In 1774, six years after C. P. E. left Berlin for Hamburg, his elder brother, Wilhelm Friedemann, arrived with his inheritance of Bach manuscripts in tow—or, more precisely, with what was left of that inheritance after having sold so much of it. He was to remain in Berlin until his death ten years later. All three sons were active as keyboard performers in Berlin—C. P. E. in the capacity of court harpsichordist to Frederick the



Great—and it stands to reason that they played their father's music there. The two older brothers must have also taught their father's works to their Berlin keyboard pupils.

Shortly after 1750 another of Bach's keyboard pupils and another seminal figure in the Berlin Bach circle, Johann Philipp Kirnberger, came onto the scene. As a theorist, Kirnberger kept Bach's reputation alive by elucidating his genius as a contrapuntist. In addition, he oversaw the compilation of the so-called "Amalien-Bibliothek," the music library of his pupil Princess Anna Amalia. In so doing he engaged professional scribes to copy numerous Bach works, giving the princess the largest collection of Bachiana of the day.<sup>11</sup> These scribes probably copied from the sources inherited by C. P. E. and Friedemann, as well as ones owned by the Bach pupil Johann Friedrich Agricola (1720–74) and Kirnberger himself.

Kirnberger was also one of two Kellner pupils who contributed significantly to the Berlin Bach movement. He studied with Kellner in Gräfenroda prior to his instruction with Bach in Leipzig, and it is likely that Kellner introduced him to Bach's music. The other Kellner student, Johannes Ringk, held various posts in Berlin from around 1740 until his death in 1778. When he moved to Berlin he evidently brought with him several manuscript copies of Bach keyboard works that he had prepared during his studies with Kellner.

The Bach circle in the Thuringian villages also focused on the keyboard works, but not in order to analyze them in theory treatises (as Kirnberger did) or to assemble them into reference collections (as Princess Anna Amalia did in essence). The Thuringians appear to have been drawn to the music simply to play it.

Thuringia is that region of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) that extends eastward from Eisenach for about eighty miles to the village of Altenburg. Its northern boundary runs roughly from Mühlhausen through Sondershausen and along the Unstrut River, while its southern edge borders Bavaria. It is still quite rural in parts as so much of it is little more than a sequence of wooded hills and valleys. Although some of its towns qualify as small cities (particularly Erfurt and Jena, which currently have populations of about 212,000 and 104,000, respectively), its landscape has always been dotted by tiny villages.<sup>12</sup>

J. S. Bach spent approximately thirty years of his life in this rustic setting. He was born and raised in Eisenach (1685–95). After losing his parents at the age of nine, he spent five years in Ohrdruf with his older

brother (1695–1700). He attended a school in the north German city of Lüneburg from 1700–1702, and then returned to Thuringia to begin his first professional position, that of violinist at the Weimar court (1703). He remained in the area for fourteen years, serving as organist in Arnstadt (1703–7) and Mühlhausen (1707–8), as well as organist and Konzertmeister in Weimar (1708–17).

It is scarcely surprising, in view of these statistics, that the Thuringian Bach tradition was far and away the oldest of the three under discussion here. In many ways it was also the strongest. Bach's keyboard music was already being circulated in manuscript form there by about 1705; by the time of his second Weimar tenure—due primarily to the increasing number of Bach pupils—it was being disseminated in ever-widening circles. Ironically, the movement was to gain even greater momentum after Bach departed from Weimar in 1717, the reason being that throughout his Leipzig period Bach attracted numerous Thuringians as keyboard students.<sup>13</sup> Many of these Thuringians settled in their native region after their studies with Bach and passed on the Bach works they had copied to their many pupils. Since several of these Bach students lived well into the latter half of the eighteenth century, the afterlife of Bach's keyboard music in Thuringia was ensured for at least fifty years after his death.

The earliest major figure in the Thuringian Bach tradition, though, was not a Bach pupil: he was Bach's first keyboard teacher, the Ohrdruf organist, Johann Christoph Bach (1671–1721), the elder brother under whose roof Bach lived from 1695 to 1700. Christoph has only recently been identified as the compiler and principal scribe of the so-called "Möller Manuscript" (SPK, Mus. ms. 40644) and "Andreas Bach Book" (Mblpz, III.8:4), two anthologies dating from about 1704 to 1707 and about 1707 to 1713 respectively, and which are the two most important sources for Bach's early keyboard works.<sup>14</sup> We will see later on that these two manuscripts were very likely the sources from which the Kellner circle prepared a few of its Bach copies.

At about the same time that Christoph completed his two anthologies a second scribal circle was springing up in Weimar. Led by Bach's distant relative and Weimar colleague, Johann Gottfried Walther (1684–1748), and Bach's pupil, Johann Tobias Krebs (1690–1762), the Weimar circle is largely responsible for the three large miscellanies P 801, P 802, and P 803 (DSB). These manuscripts, which represent the most extensive sources for Bach's Weimar organ compositions, contain over one hun-

dred of his keyboard works. The copying was apparently initiated around 1710 by Walther, who lived in Weimar from 1707 until his death and whose Bach copies appear to date almost without exception to Bach's Weimar period.<sup>15</sup> Krebs, who spent his entire life in the Weimar area, studied with Bach 1714–17 and appears to have made most of his Bach copies during those years. His son, Johann Ludwig (1713–83), studied with Bach in Leipzig sometime between 1726 and 1735, during which time he was a student at the University of Leipzig. He was also an important copyist of Bach's keyboard music, as his numerous copies in P 801 and P 803 demonstrate. Ludwig returned to Thuringia for good in 1756 when he became court organist in Altenburg.

Another of Bach's Weimar pupils was Johann Caspar Vogler (1696–1763), who also studied with Bach in Arnstadt (making him one of Bach's first pupils altogether). Vogler was appointed court organist at Weimar in 1721 and remained there until his death. He continued to copy Bach's keyboard music well after Bach left Weimar.<sup>16</sup> Vogler had close personal ties to Kellner and was probably responsible for introducing him to several Bach works.

Vogler was hardly the only Thuringian copying Bach keyboard works in the 1720s. A good many of Kellner's copies must date from this time. There was also Heinrich Nicolaus Gerber (1702–75), who prepared several copies of Bach keyboard pieces around 1725 while studying with Bach in Leipzig. When he returned to Thuringia in 1726, first to his birthplace Wenigen-Ehrich and eventually to Sondershausen—where he served as court organist from 1731 on—his Bach copies accompanied him. Members of the Bach family, which was still essentially a Thuringian clan in the 1720s, also continued to disseminate Bach's keyboard music in the region. The Gehren cantor, Johann Christoph Bach (1673–1727), prepared a copy of the *Inventions and Sinfonias* (BWV 772–801) sometime between 1723 and 1725, not to mention copies of other Bach keyboard works that have yet to be dated.<sup>17</sup> The Eisenach town organist, Johann Bernhard Bach (1676–1749), is known to have made copies of the *Prelude and Fugue in A Minor* (BWV 894) as well as numerous Bach concerto transcriptions. These sources appear to date from the period 1715 to 1730.<sup>18</sup>

The 1730s evidently witnessed the initial compilation phase of the "Mempell-Preller Collection," a constellation of Bach copies which, in terms of its size, is surpassed only by the voluminous collections of J. C. Bach (Bach's older brother), Walther and Krebs, and Kellner. The copying

was begun by Johann Nicolaus Mempel (1713–47) and a scribe in his charge, and was continued apparently in the 1740s by Johann Gottlieb Preller (1717–85), possibly a pupil of Mempel's.<sup>19</sup> Neither Mempel nor Preller can be shown to have been in personal contact with Bach but Mempel was very likely personally acquainted with Kellner, while Preller may have been a pupil of J. T. Krebs. The Mempel-Preller collection brought a new influx of Bach sources into the villages surrounding Weimar and ranks second only to the Walther-Krebs miscellanies in disseminating Bach's music in that area.

The last major Thuringian Bach circle founded in the eighteenth century was that of Johann Christian Kittel (1732–1809) in Erfurt. Kittel studied with Bach around 1748 to 1750 and, upon returning to his birthplace of Erfurt in 1756, attracted numerous pupils to whom he made much Bach keyboard music available. Most of Kittel's own Bach manuscripts were destroyed in a fire but his collection of Bach organ works was one of the most extensive of the day.<sup>20</sup> Kittel, more so than any other Thuringian Bach collector, can be credited with preserving the Thuringian Bach tradition in the early nineteenth century.

The *dramatis personae* of the eighteenth-century Thuringian *Bach-Überlieferung* listed in this survey—which is by no means a complete overview—were, without exception, organists who copied music written for their instrument (or for harpsichord). It seems obvious, by virtue of the copies themselves, that these organists valued the music in one way or another—it is illogical that a musician other than a professional scribe would have made the effort to write out a piece he considered useless. Furthermore, in certain cases the scribes' aesthetic responses to Bach's music document their admiration for it.<sup>21</sup> But in what sense did they value it? Did they see in it a compositional style worthy of (and appropriate for) emulation in their own keyboard compositions, or did they appreciate it primarily as teaching and performing repertory?

To start with the second question, common sense alone suggests that an organist in possession of a self-made copy of a Bach organ work would have performed that work at concerts and/or worship services. Certain notational features of many of the copies support this notion too, for they reveal that the copies were prepared with the special needs of the performer in mind. A large number of them contain directs (i.e., *custos* symbols placed at the end of a staff to indicate the first pitch[es] of the next and which, therefore, facilitate reading the music in performance) and performance instructions that inform the player on matters of regis-



tration, articulation, and tempo, and often indicate whether a passage is to be played with the right hand, left hand, or feet. In addition, many of them are laid out—as so many of the autographs are—in such a way as to eliminate page turns during movements.

Another factor to consider, though, is the technical difficulty of many of the pieces that were copied: Bach's organ music, especially in the uncompromising use of pedal, is without question the hardest to play from a technical standpoint of any of the organ repertoires prior to the late nineteenth century. In the case of an acclaimed virtuoso like Kellner there seems little reason to doubt that the copyist possessed sufficient technique to play the pieces. But keeping in mind the many instances—particularly those involving young scribes—where we know next to nothing about the copyist's keyboard abilities, it seems hasty to conclude that all of them could adequately perform the music. Thus we can imagine that certain scribes played the works for their own enjoyment and edification but not necessarily in front of audiences or congregations.

The technical demands would also seem to render many of the works copied inappropriate for teaching material (especially for a beginning student), if the teaching entailed merely playing keyboard instruments. But if Bach's own teaching can be taken as typical of his day, music instruction at the time involved considerably more than performance. Bach's pupils studied both how to play keyboard instruments and how to compose for them, in addition to related subjects like improvisation and figured-bass realization. Hence a student who might not have been up to the technical challenges of a particular work could still have benefited from it as a compositional guide. Consider, for example, Bach's *Spielfugen* for organ, works that, judging from the number of times they were copied, were immensely popular among these scribes (included are such works as the Fugues in D Major and G Minor, BWV 532/2 and 542/2, respectively) but that are characterized by virtuosic manual and pedal passages, resulting largely from the motoric, violinistic subjects employed.<sup>22</sup> They represent advanced repertory for performance but are straightforward enough in terms of their contrapuntal makeup to introduce the beginning composition student to the rudiments of fugal writing. Virtually all of the works copied could have been used by keyboard pedagogues as teaching material of some sort and we must therefore believe that the many Bach copies fashioned by Kellner's and Kittel's pupils were prepared, for the most part, during their studies with those two Bach devotees.



The act of copying, studying, and performing a Bach fugue would also have enriched one's understanding of fugal polyphony, arguably the most representative style of the late baroque. Generally speaking, this style was supplanted in the second quarter of the century by the homophonic galant idiom but it lived on throughout the century in the organ and vocal music written for the church, which has always tended to be conservative in its musical taste. Fugue represented to these Thuringians a viable compositional idiom throughout the eighteenth century simply because they were all church musicians, whether at village churches or court chapels. And they saw in Bach's fugues—and his organ music in general—a model for their own organ compositions, but not one to be followed slavishly. In certain pieces by Kittel and J. L. Krebs the modeling is so obvious that it is possible to pinpoint the particular Bach works involved.<sup>23</sup> Yet the organ works of these scribes also betray galant influence to a far greater extent than do Bach's.

It is hoped that this general, introductory discussion will enable the reader to more clearly perceive the historical context of the Kellner-circle Bach copies. They assume a prominent position in the reception history of Bach's music in the eighteenth century and are particularly important in (and particularly representative of) the chapter of that history referred to here as the Thuringian Bach tradition. We will next turn to the copyists and manuscripts themselves.



## CHAPTER II

### THE SCRIBES AND THE SOURCES

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#### KELLNER: A BIOGRAPHICAL PORTRAIT

Like Bach, Kellner was a native Thuringian (see figure 1). He was born in the village of Gräfenroda, located about thirteen kilometers southwest of Arnstadt, on 28 September 1705.<sup>1</sup> His parents, the lamp-black merchant, J. P. Kellner, senior, and Margaretha Wuckelin, wished him to learn his father's trade but the son's firm resolve to become a professional musician could not be shaken. He attended the village school where he sang under the cantor, Johann Peter Nagel (1663–1732); his first keyboard instructor was Nagel's son, Johann Heinrich (1691–1727). When Heinrich left Gräfenroda to become cantor in Dietendorf, Kellner continued his studies with him there for nearly two years, 1718 to 1720. Following his stay in Dietendorf, Kellner studied for a year in Zella with the organist, Johann Schmidt (1674–1746), presumably 1720–21, and then also for a year in Suhl, presumably 1721–22, with the organist Hieronymous Florentius Quehl, with whom he first studied composition.

Kellner next returned to Gräfenroda, apparently in the fall of 1722, serving as a music tutor to a clergyman's son for three years. On 21 October 1725 he successfully auditioned for the cantorate in neighboring Frankenhain, where he stayed for over two years. In December 1727 he again returned to Gräfenroda, first as an assistant cantor under J. P. Nagel and, after Nagel's death in 1732, as cantor. He remained at the post until his death on 19 April 1772.

Kellner was famous in his day as an organ virtuoso and he seems to have been in demand throughout Thuringia as an organ recitalist and examiner.<sup>2</sup> A prolific composer of vocal as well as instrumental music,



Figure 1. Johann Peter Kellner (1705–72): silhouette (ca. 1770)–Bach Museum, Eisenach

several of his keyboard works were printed during his lifetime. He was also significant as a pedagogue, as is clear from his long roster of keyboard pupils. But it cannot be denied that Kellner is remembered today primarily for his Bach manuscripts.

His relationship with Bach is still far from clear. According to Kellner's son, Johann Christoph (1736–1803), his father was a "good friend" of Bach's; J. A. Hiller, on the other hand, claimed in 1791 that Kellner was one of Bach's best students.<sup>3</sup> Yet Kellner's own remarks on the subject, published in his autobiography of 1754, are too nebulous to document either report: "I had formerly partly seen and partly heard very much of a great master of music. I found exceeding pleasure in his work. I mean the late Capellmeister Bach in Leipzig. I longed for the acquaintance of this excellent man. And I was, in fact, fortunate enough to enjoy the same."<sup>4</sup> Since earlier in the autobiography Kellner recounts with utmost clarity his studies with four different musicians and plainly declares his admiration for Bach, it would seem that, had he been a Bach pupil, he would have stated so unambiguously, if not proudly. At the same time, though,

the fact that Kellner was twenty years Bach's junior implies a student-teacher association.

Whatever their relationship, Kellner seems to have been in close enough contact with Bach to gain access to autographs of Bach keyboard works (which were in Bach's possession). It is very likely, for instance, that Kellner prepared a few of his copies directly from extant autographs and one manuscript has survived in which Bach copied out approximately half of a work and Kellner the remainder.<sup>5</sup> Considering that the two may have been friends, it does not seem inappropriate to speculate about factors that may have contributed to that friendship.

Bach may have felt some kinship with Kellner simply because they were both Thuringian-born.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, Bach, with his great interest in the genealogy of his family (which ultimately led him to draw up a family tree), may have had a special affection for Gräfenroda since members of the Bach clan had settled there as early as the fifteenth century.<sup>7</sup> And he may have been particularly interested in Kellner's Gräfenroda teachers, J. P. and J. H. Nagel, since Sebastian Nagel, a stadtpfeifer in Gotha, was one of Bach's godfathers.<sup>8</sup>

We can also conjecture that common acquaintances, all of them native Thuringians too, contributed to the closeness of their relationship. One of these was the Bach pupil J. C. Vogler, who has already been mentioned in conjunction with the Weimar Bach tradition. Vogler stood as godfather at J. C. Kellner's baptism in 1736 at Gräfenroda, suggesting that he and Kellner were close friends.<sup>9</sup> The two probably visited in Weimar as well since, according to Kellner's autobiography, he (Kellner) performed on various occasions at the court of Duke Ernst August of Weimar, whom Vogler served as organist from 1721 until the duke's death in 1748. In light of these close ties it is reasonable to assume that Vogler's three surviving Kellner copies were prepared from autograph sources.<sup>10</sup>

While in Weimar, Kellner could also have met Bach's kinsman and colleague, J. G. Walther, organist at the town church from 1707 until his death in 1748 and, as discussed above, another major figure in the Weimar Bach circle. Perhaps Walther's copy of Kellner's organ chorale "Nun danket alle Gott" was made from an autograph during one of Kellner's visits to Weimar.<sup>11</sup> It was conceivably also during one of these visits that Walther presented Kellner with a manuscript copy of one of his organ transcriptions: an organ transcription of a Telemann violin con-

certo almost certainly stemming from Walther's circle and which now comprises a fascicle of the most important Kellner-circle Bach manuscript (see the discussion of the transcription in chapter 6).

Another source to be mentioned in this connection is Johannes Ringk's copy of Dietrich Buxtehude's "Te Deum Laudamus" (BuxWV 218, mm. 1–40 only).<sup>12</sup> The copy is dated 1730, at which time, presumably, Ringk was a Kellner pupil (see the discussion of Ringk's Bach copies later in this chapter). There is also a Walther copy of this work in P 801, and it seems possible that this source, apparently dating from 1712/13, is somehow connected to Ringk's copy.<sup>13</sup> Was Walther's copy the exemplar for a lost Kellner copy from which Ringk worked or did Ringk, having traveled with his teacher to Weimar, work directly from Walther's copy?<sup>14</sup>

It was stated previously that Kellner and Bach also had a pupil in common, the theorist, Johann Philipp Kirnberger, who studied under Kellner in Gräfenroda at some point before 1739. About all the data we have on Kellner's association with Kirnberger is that Kirnberger was one of his keyboard pupils in Gräfenroda and that the instruction took place before 1739.<sup>15</sup> In 1738, after concluding his studies with Kellner, Kirnberger is reported to have studied organ and violin in Sondershausen with the Bach pupil, H. N. Gerber (mentioned earlier), and a certain "Herr Meil," respectively. He then went on to study under Bach in Leipzig.

Kellner probably knew Gerber too since, in his autobiography, he lists the court of Schwarzburg-Sondershausen—where Gerber was employed as organist from 1731 on—as another of the courts where he had "paid his musical respects." We can hypothesize then as we did with Walther that Gerber made his copy of Kellner's organ chorale, "Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten," from an autograph that accompanied Kellner on one of his trips to Sondershausen.<sup>16</sup>

A final common acquaintance was the Zella music engraver, J. G. Schübler. Virtually nothing is known about him other than that he was a Bach pupil (probably in the early 1740s) and the engraver of the original prints of Bach's Musical Offering and "Schübler Chorales" as well as part 2 of Kellner's keyboard collection, *Manipulus Musices*, published in 1753.<sup>17</sup> Whether or not Kellner's ties to Bach helped him secure Schübler's services is unknown.

When and where Kellner and Bach met are intriguing questions for which there are no clear answers. Kellner himself offers a clue when he states in his autobiography that he is personally acquainted with no less



another august personage than George Frideric Handel. There seem to be only two occasions on which Kellner could have made Handel's acquaintance: either in June 1729 during Handel's visit to Halle to see his sick mother; or in late summer 1750 when Handel is believed to have made his last trip to Germany, presumably also to Halle.<sup>18</sup> The 1729 trip is clearly the likelier of the two possibilities because there are indications that Handel's music was being circulated within the Kellner circle well before 1750. Johannes Ringk copied out Handel keyboard works evidently before about 1740 (that is before he left Thuringia for Berlin), and Handel chamber works were copied by members of the J. N. Mempel circle no later than 1747, the year of Mempel's death.<sup>19</sup> There is no evidence that Ringk or Mempel were personally acquainted with Handel or anyone who knew Handel, other than Kellner, who could have given them access to Handel keyboard works before 1740. As mentioned earlier, Ringk was a Kellner pupil (at some point before about 1740); Mempel must have been acquainted with Kellner, although in what capacity (student? colleague?) is unclear. All of this strongly suggests that Ringk and the Mempel-circle copyists made their Handel copies from copies Kellner prepared in Halle during Handel's 1729 visit.

Handel's 1729 visit also bears implications for an initial meeting between Kellner and Bach. Manuscript evidence suggests that Kellner and Bach were not acquainted prior to 1727. Of the surviving autographs that Kellner evidently used as exemplars, none can be securely dated before the period 1727 to 1732. It can also be shown that in four instances during 1725 to 1727, when Kellner made copies of Bach works for which there are extant autographs, he copied from manuscripts other than those autographs, even though they were in existence at the time. In each case the Kellner copy gives readings that differ from those in the autograph.<sup>20</sup> In addition, Kellner appears to have prepared a Bach copy (1724–25) from a surviving nonautograph exemplar.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, although the overwhelming majority of Kellner's exemplars have disappeared, it seems that he made use of nonautograph exemplars during 1724 to 1726 while no autograph exemplars from the period have survived. Unfortunately, we have no clues as to whether Kellner and Bach might have met during the period 1727 to May 1729. The strong likelihood that Kellner met Handel in Halle in June 1729, though, does suggest that Kellner and Bach were acquainted by the early summer of 1729. If Kellner had been in Halle at this time he could easily have made a trip to nearby Leipzig to see Bach. He had already prepared numerous copies of

Bach compositions by this date; we can, therefore, assume that he already greatly admired Bach's music by then. With these factors in mind, it is almost unthinkable that Kellner would not have tried to visit Bach after having made the long trek across Thuringia to Saxony (the region of the German Democratic Republic that encompasses Leipzig and Dresden).

It is clear enough that Kellner must have prepared some of his Bach copies from autograph exemplars. But one wonders how many times Kellner made the long trip from Gräfenroda to Leipzig (and, faced with this distance factor, could Kellner and Bach really have been "good friends"?). It would have been much easier for him to prepare his Bach copies from manuscripts circulating in Thuringia, as he seems to have done exclusively—except when he worked from prints—before meeting Bach in the late 1720s.

If one believes Philipp Spitta, manuscripts like these would have been placed at Kellner's disposal by his teacher in Zella, Johann Schmidt, for Spitta claimed that Schmidt probably introduced Kellner to Bach's music.<sup>22</sup> But since no ties between Bach and Schmidt are known this is a questionable notion.<sup>23</sup> We can imagine, however, that he often worked from Bach copies by his friend Vogler, although not a single instance of such a collaboration can be documented.<sup>24</sup> And surely it is reasonable to suppose that he may have done the same with Walther, Gerber, and Schübler.

We can be fairly certain that Kellner also relied on contacts in nearby Ohrdruf since both he and Wolfgang Nicolaus Mey, a member of the Kellner circle who will be discussed later on in his own right, appear to have copied at least five Bach works directly from the Möller Manuscript and Andreas Bach Book.<sup>25</sup> It will be recalled that the compiler and principal scribe of these two anthologies is Johann Christoph Bach, J. S. Bach's older brother and organist in Ohrdruf. Christoph died in 1721, but it appears that both anthologies remained in Ohrdruf with organ-playing members of his family throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>26</sup> Because Kellner and Mey seem to have worked from the anthologies after Christoph's death, they presumably gained access to them either through Christoph's son, Johann Bernhard, who evidently owned the volumes until his death in 1743 or through Bernhard's younger brother, Johann Andreas, who evidently owned them from 1743 until his death in 1779.

Kellner's pupil, Johann Nicol[aus?] Fabricius (born 1712), may have also played a role in the Ohrdruf connection since he is known to have

studied with one of the Ohrdruf Bachs.<sup>27</sup> Fabricius's study in Ohrdruf must have entailed copying music by J. S. Bach. Thus, if Fabricius's instruction under Kellner took place after his study in Ohrdruf—and there is no way of knowing which came first—Fabricius may have introduced Kellner to J. S. Bach works he had copied in Ohrdruf. If Fabricius studied under Kellner before going to Ohrdruf he may have introduced Kellner to J. B. and/or J. A. Bach, thereby allowing Kellner access to the Möller Manuscript and Andreas Bach Book.

It has also been suggested that Kellner may have become acquainted with Bach works through Bach's relatives or students in neighboring Arnstadt where Bach lived during 1703–7.<sup>28</sup> One such contact could have been Johann Ernst Bach (1680–1739), Bach's successor in Arnstadt and his substitute during his trip to Lübeck in 1705–6, who worked as an organist there from 1707 until his death.

#### KELLNER'S BACH COPIES

The Kellner-circle Bach copies are today divided between libraries in West Berlin and Leipzig, the great majority of them being housed in the *SPK*. Although they originated as self-contained, independent manuscripts, almost all of them now comprise fascicles (or gatherings) in large miscellanies (or *Konvolute*). Throughout this study copies of this type are cited first according to the shelf number of the miscellany and then, following a diagonal slash, according to which fascicle the copy comprises within the miscellany. For example, Kellner's copy of the *Aria Variata* (BWV 989), which will be cited as P 804/21, constitutes the twenty-first fascicle of the miscellany P 804 (*SPK*).

P 804 is one of the most important Bach sources altogether. It consists of fifty-seven fascicles of varying paper types that total almost 400 pages. Many of the fascicles have been trimmed to give the volume a uniform size (33.5 × 21.5 cm. on the average), and this process has resulted in the loss of headings and musical text in several places. This, as well as the manuscript's unwieldy thickness (3.5 cm., excluding the thick outer boards), would seem to indicate that the fascicles were brought together not to be performed from but to be preserved as a reference collection. One assumes this took place after Kellner's death, for it is hard to imagine that he would have badly damaged his own copies just to group them into a volume that could not even be performed from.

Although many of the fascicles are in Kellner's hand or carry his

ownership inscription (e.g., “poss[essor] Johann Peter Kellner”), others show no trace of stemming from his circle. For example, certain fascicles from which Kellner’s name is absent were copied by anonymous scribes who otherwise do not appear in the Bach sources (fascicles 1, 6, 11, 14, 24, 32, 39, 44); in fact, fascicles 1 and 14 consist of paper types found in no other Kellner-circle Bach manuscripts. It is therefore possible that whoever assembled P 804 did so by combining Kellner-circle copies and manuscripts that were never in Kellner’s possession. Clearly, all the other miscellanies containing Bach copies by Kellner also contain copies not stemming from his circle. These miscellanies contain some fascicles bearing several ownership inscriptions, making it possible to trace the transmission of individual fascicles. P 804 is unique in that none of its fascicles carries ownership inscriptions of persons other than those who worked for Kellner as scribes or studied under him. This fact strongly suggests that its contents were passed collectively from owner to owner beginning at a relatively early stage in their history. J. C. Kellner, who claimed that he owned Bach keyboard manuscripts of his father, probably inherited most if not all of the fascicles.<sup>29</sup>

Kellner appears as a scribe in eight *SPK* manuscripts: P 274, P 286, P 287, P 288, P 574, P 804, P 891, and st 125 (see figures 2, 3, 4, 7–10, 13, 15, 17). He also appears in sources owned by the *MBLPz* (ms. 8) and the Universitätsbibliothek Karl-Marx-Universität, Leipzig (Inv. 5137). Table 1 lists Kellner’s Bach copies in approximately chronological order.<sup>30</sup> In this table and in others to follow, if a copy *possibly* represents the earliest source for a work, an asterisk is placed beside the BWV number; if *definitely* (or almost definitely) the earliest source, two asterisks are used; and if the only source, three asterisks are used.<sup>31</sup>

If nineteenth-century editors can be trusted, Kellner also prepared several Bach copies that are no longer extant.<sup>32</sup> They reportedly contained the following works:

1. Prelude and Fugue in G Minor (BWV 535)<sup>33</sup>
2. Toccata and Fugue in D Minor (BWV 538)
3. Toccata and Fugue in F Major (BWV 540)
4. Fugue in C Minor (BWV 549/2)<sup>34</sup>
5. Prelude and Fugue in G Major (BWV 550)
6. Fugue in C Minor on a Theme by Legrenzi (BWV 574)<sup>35</sup>
7. Fugue in G Minor (BWV 578)
8. Concerto in A Minor after Vivaldi (BWV 593)



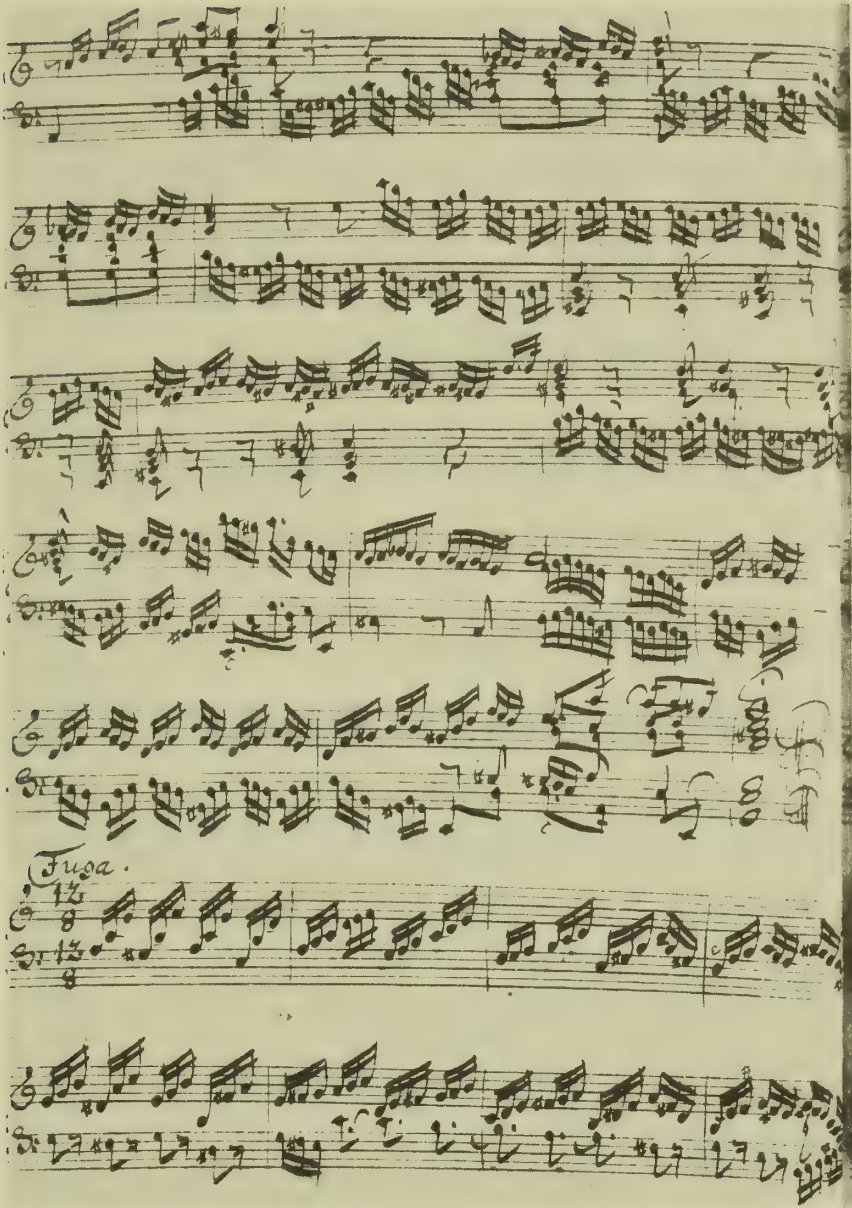


Figure 2. Kellner's copy of the Prelude and Fugue in A Minor (BWV 894), dated 1725: handwriting phase 1, middle-Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/29, f. 4<sup>v</sup>

*Stagio ma non tanto.* (Il 6, 5)

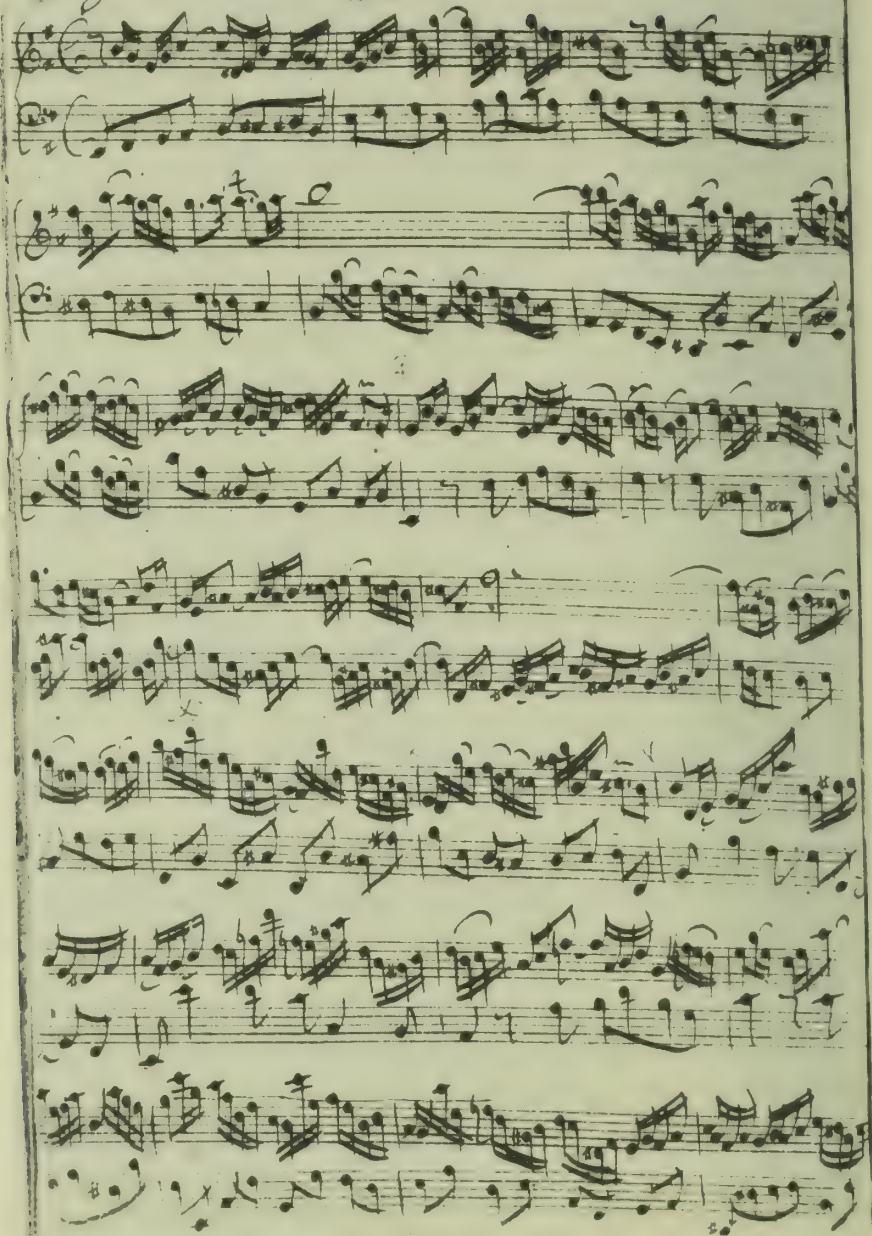




Figure 3. Kellner's copy of the Sonata in E Minor for Flute and Continuo (BWV 1034), first movement: handwriting phase 2, early—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/23, f. 1<sup>v</sup>

Table 1. Kellner's Bach Copies

Source	BWV No.	Watermark Type	Handwriting Phase	Proposed Date
P 804/21	989	D, form 2	1, early	before 1725
P 804/31	592*	O, form 2	1, early	before 1725?
P 804/51	950**	O, form 1	1, early	before 1725?
P 804/15	976*	O, form 1	1, early	before 1725?
P 804/27	967	O, form 1	1, early	1724/25
P 274/3	531 722 732**	O, form 1	1, early	1724/25
P 804/41	772–801	F	1, middle	dated 1725
Inv. 5137	594**	F	1, middle	1725
P 804/7	993**	F	1, middle	1725
P 804/29	894	F	1, middle	dated 1725
MS. 8/16	848/1	E	1, middle	1725
P 804/40 (pp. 251–74)	1007–12*	A, form 8	1, late	early 1726
P 804/22	1001 1003–6	A, form 6	1, late	dated 3 July 1726
P 574	825	A (form not identified)	1, late	1726/27
P 288/8	541**	A (form not identified)	1, late	1726/27
P 286/3	566	H	1, late	1726/27
P 804/33	966	I, form 3	1, late	1726/27
P 804/20	965	I, form 1	2, early	1726/27
P 804/23	1034**	J, form 3	2, early	1726/27
P 288/2	572	H	2, early	1726/27
P 804/5	902a*** 902/2** 953	J, form 1	2, middle	1726/27

Table 1. *Continued*

Source	BWV No.	Watermark Type	Hand-writing Phase	Proposed Date
P 804/30	536/1**	J, form 1	2, middle	1726/27
P 286/5	564**	J, form 3	2, late	1726/27
P 288/13	543a*	H	2, late	1726/27
P 804/16	827	A, form 5	3, early	1727
P 804/18	907*	J, form 1	3, early	1727 or later
P 804/38	870a* 899* 900*	J, form 3	3, early	1727 or later
P 804/55	535/1**	I, form 1	3, early	1727 or later
P 804/40 (pp. 249-50, 275-76)	1012/7*	I, form 5	3, early	1727 or later
P 804/42	715*** 726***	I, form 1	3, early	1727 or later
P 288/11	904/2** 562/1	H	3, middle	1727 or later, but before 1738/40
P 804/19	999***	H	3, middle	after 1727
P 804/26	908*	I, form 2	3, middle	after 1727
P 804/45	823**	L, form 1	3, middle	after 1727
P 288/12	569	H	3, middle	after 1727
P 286/1	545 529/2	H	3, late	after 1727
P 891	544	H	3, late	after 1727
P 274/2	548/2**	T	3, late	after 1727
P 287/10	571**	L, form 1	3, late	after 1727
P 804/25	904/1**	L, form 1	3, late	after 1727
P 287/6	590**	H	3, late	after 1727
P 804/12	organ tran- scription***	X	4, early	after 1730
P 804/13	570 563/1	J, form 2	4, early	after 1730
P 274/1	547**	W	4, middle	after 1730

Table 1. *Continued*

Source	BWV No.	Watermark Type	Hand-writing Phase	Proposed Date
P 286/10	546**	L, form 1	4, middle	after 1730
P 288/5	542/2	A (form not identified)	4, middle	after 1730
st 125	1052	A, form 4; B, form 3; Q; P	4, late	ca. 1738–50

9. Concerto in C Major after Prince Johann Ernst (BWV 595)
10. Concerto in D Minor after Vivaldi (BWV 596)
11. Fantasy in C Minor (BWV 919)
12. Fugue in A Minor (BWV 947)<sup>36</sup>

My proposed chronology of Kellner's surviving Bach copies is based on study of the following: Kellner's handwriting, including every known document from his pen;<sup>37</sup> the watermarks of the paper that he used; the dates of his exemplars; and, in the case of st 125, the composition dates of the Bach works involved. st 125, a set of parts to the Concerto in D Minor for Harpsichord and Orchestra (BWV 1052) partially in Kellner's hand, could not have been prepared any earlier than about 1738 since this is the date of Bach's composing score of the piece.<sup>38</sup> Less helpful but more numerous *termini ante quem non* are supplied by the dates of Kellner's exemplars, both manuscript and printed. Table 2 lists all of the surviving exemplars apparently used by members of the Kellner circle in writing out their Bach copies.<sup>39</sup>

Watermark data also yields fewer chronological clues than one would hope for since it usually provides only a very general frame of reference. But the distribution of watermarks among the Kellner-circle copies provides an objective means of corroborating findings obtained through handwriting analysis and it is, therefore, worth considering. Table 3 lists all the Bach copies of the Kellner circle according to their watermarks.<sup>40</sup>

Watermarks A–G stem from the Arnstadt paper mill, evidenced by the letters A (for Arnstadt) and JMS (initials of Johann Michael Stoss, the mill's proprietor from 1714 to 1760). According to Weiss, Type A appears

Table 2. Kellner-Circle Copies with Extant Exemplars

Kellner-Circle Copy	BWV No.	Exemplar
P 804/27 (Kellner)	967	Möller Manuscript (J. C. Bach + anonymous scribe, ca. 1704–ca. 1707)
P 804/3 (Mey)	896/2	Möller Manuscript (J. C. Bach, ca. 1704–ca. 1707)
P 804/13 (Kellner)	570 563/1	Andreas Bach Book (J. C. Bach, ca. 1707/8–ca. 1713)
P 804/37 (Mey)	949	Andreas Bach Book (J. C. Bach, ca. 1707/8–ca. 1713)
P 288/11 (Kellner)	562/1	Autograph manuscript: P 490 (SPK), 1724–ca. 1745
P 574 (Kellner)	825	Original single print of Partita I, 1726
P 804/16 (Kellner + Mey)	827	Original single print of Partita III, 1727
P 891 (Kellner)	544	Autograph manuscript (privately owned), 1727–32
MS. 1/9 (Wechmar)	548	Autograph/Kellner copy: P 274/2, 1727 or later
MS. 4/2 (Wechmar)	870a	Kellner copy: P 804/38, 1727 or later
MS. 1/14 (Wechmar)	544	Kellner copy: P 891, after 1727
MS. 1/8 (Wechmar)	547	Kellner copy: P 274/1, after 1730
P 804/44 (Anonymous 14)	831/11	First reprint of <i>Clavierübung</i> II, late 1736 or 1737
P 804/32 (Anonymous 10 + Anonymous 11)	906	Autograph manuscript: Mus. 2405-T-52, Aut. 3 (Dresden: Sächsische Landesbibliothek), ca. 1738
MS. 2 (Wechmar)	552/1 669–83	Original print of <i>Clavierübung</i> III, 1739

in documents from 1729 to 1750.<sup>41</sup> But it is also found in P 804/22, Kellner's copy of the Sonatas and Partitas for Unaccompanied Violin (BWV 1001–6), dated 1726. It is a common watermark in pre-1750 copies of Bach's keyboard music, frequently appearing in the Walther-Krebs miscellanies P 801–P 803 and the Mempell-Preller Collection.<sup>42</sup> Type B is found in documents from 1728 to 1760, providing an even wider span for

Table 3. Watermark Distribution in the Kellner-Circle Copies

Type A—(a) cursive A; (b) cursive monogram JMS

Form 1—P 804/2; P 804/3; P 804/10; P 804/34; P 804/37; P 804/46; P 804/48;  
P 804/56

Form 2—P 804/4

Form 3—P 804/8

Form 4—P 804/11; st 125

Form 5—P 804/16; P 804/54

Form 6—P 804/22 (dated 1726)

Form 7—P 804/36

Form 8—P 804/40

Form 9—P 804/57

Forms not identified—P 288/5; P 288/8; P 574; MS. R 8 (dated 1730)

Type B—(a) A with trefoil; (b) cursive monogram JMS

Form 1—P 804/17

Form 2—P 804/24; MS. 1/14; MS. 3/2

Form 3—st 125

Type C—(a) cursive monogram JMS

MS. 3/1; MS. 4/12; MS. R 16/8

Type D—A with trefoil (no countermark)

Form 1—P 804/6

Form 2—P 804/21

Type E—(a) post horn on string; (b) A with trefoil

MS. 8/16

Type F—A with circular decoration at crest (no countermark)

P 804/7; P 804/29 (dated 1725); P 804/41 (dated 1725); Inv. 5137

Type G—A (no countermark)

P 804/43

Type H—(a) crowned coat of arms with lozenged wreath and bend; (b) same

P 804/19; P 286/1; P 286/3; P 287/6; P 288/2; P 288/11; P 288/12; P 288/13; P 891

Type I—(a) crowned coat of arms with lozenged wreath, bend, and fleur-de-lis at crest; (b) same

Form 1—P 804/20; P 804/42; P 804/55

Form 2—P 804/26

Form 3—P 804/28; P 804/33

Form 4—P 804/35

Form 5—P 804/40

Type J—CBS in a crowned plaque (no countermark)

Form 1—P 804/5; P 804/9; P 804/18; P 804/30; P 804/49; P 425/2 (?)



Table 3. *Continued*


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Form 2–P 804/13; P 804/52
Form 3–P 804/23; P 804/38; P 804/47; P 804/53; P 286/5; MS. 1/7
Form 4–MS. 1/8; MS. 4/12
Type K–CHS in a crowned plaque (no countermark)
P 595/3; P 595/4; P 595/6; P 595/7; P 595/9; P 595/10
Type L–(a) DGW in a crowned heart-shield; (b) same
Form 1–P 804/25; P 804/39; P 804/45; P 286/10; P 287/10
Form 2–MS. 1/3; MS. 1/4; MS. 1/5; MS. 1/8
Type M–crowned wreath-shield with fleur-de-lis in center (no countermark)
P 804/32 (?); MS. 1/9; MS. 1/10; MS. 1/14; MS. 2; MS. 4/2
Type N–IBS in a crowned plaque (no countermark)
MS. 1/11; MS. 1/13; MS. 1/15; MS. 4/3; MS. 4/4; MS. 4/11
Type O–upright crowned lion (no countermark)
Form 1–P 804/15; P 804/27; P 804/51; P 274/3
Form 2–P 804/31
Type P–(a) HNK; (b) human figure with staff
P 804/44; st 125
Type Q–(a) crowned coat of arms with post horn on string in center–GR beneath;
(b) HR
st 125
Type R–(a) GR with crown above; (b) upright crowned lion with sword and
arrows and woman with scepter in a circular enclosure–inscription PRO
PATRIA above
P 804/1
Type S–(a) shield with crowned two-headed eagle holding ball and scepter (?)
(Schönburg coat of arms–“large form”); (b) same
P 804/14
Type T–MA (“middle form”) (no countermark)
P 274/2
Type U–tower (no countermark)
P 804/50
Type V–(a) IMK (?) or IHK (?); (b) castle
P 578
Type W–(a) coat of arms (?); (b) GF_(?)–very unclear

Table 3. *Continued*


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Type X—(a) heart-shaped coat of arms (?); (b) H\_\_ (?)—very unclear  
P 804/12

Type Y—large letters (?)  
P 627; P 628

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dating the five manuscripts in which it appears.<sup>43</sup> Type D is found in the autographs of Bach's Weimar compositions but it is also found in documents as early as 1686 and as late as 1739.<sup>44</sup> Type F, on the other hand, suggests a specific year for all four copies bearing that watermark since two of them are dated 1725 (and, as we shall see below, all four of these copies belong to the same phase of Kellner's script).

Types H and I obviously stem from the same mill—the same basic mold is used for both—but the location and manufacturer are unknown. Similarly, next to nothing is known about two other very common watermarks, Types J and K, except that they appear in various Thuringian documents from 1704 to 1721.<sup>45</sup> Type J is also found in Leipzig sources dating from 1725 (performing parts to a Bach cantata) and about 1730 (anonymous *Magnificat* evidently performed at the Neukirche).<sup>46</sup>

According to Fritz Henningen, Type L is the watermark of the Thuringian manufacturer David Gewalt. Gewalt was apparently based in Gotha and Type L is found in performing parts to a church cantata by G. H. Stölzel (1690–1749), who lived in Gotha from 1719 on.<sup>47</sup> No information on Type M has survived. Type N stems evidently from Bernhardt Sperrn, whose paper was purchased by the Gotha court in 1746/47.<sup>48</sup> Type O is found in Bach sources outside the Kellner circle dating from about 1734.<sup>49</sup>

Variant forms of Type P appear in copies from the Mempell-Preller Collection (mss. 7/1, 7/3), both of which appear to date from the 1730s.<sup>50</sup> Types Q and R are of Dutch provenance, both bearing the letters GR (Georg Rex), a monogram for the English monarchy. Because multitudinous forms of each appear throughout the eighteenth century, it is not possible to date either even approximately.<sup>51</sup> Type S is found in Bach sources from 1723 to 1749, while Type T appears in the original performing materials of Bach's vocal works from 1727 to 1732.<sup>52</sup> No data on Types U–Y exist.

In dating Kellner's copies I began by studying those that, by virtue of their copyist inscriptions (e.g., "Scrips. Johann Peter Kellner"), are unquestionably in his hand: P 804/15; P 804/22 (dated 3 July 1726); P 804/29 (dated 1725); P 288/8; P 574; and Inv. 5137.<sup>53</sup> It was then clear that a host of other sources—including P 804/41, dated 1725—had to be in Kellner's hand as well since they share close similarities with these six. There are discrepancies involving clef symbols, sixteenth-note forms, and Kellner's signature between the three dated copies that have strong chronological implications for the undated ones. On the basis of these differences I was able to propose a chronology for what I have chosen to call the "middle" and "late" stages of the first phase of Kellner's handwriting. In several of these Phase I copies watermark data corroborates the handwriting evidence. For example, Type F is characteristic of the "middle" copies, whereas Type A is common in the "late" copies.

In comparing the middle and late Phase 1 manuscripts to Kellner copies that, due to the dates of their exemplars, could not have originated before 1727 (P 804/16, P 288/11, P 891), it was possible to propose a chronology for the Phase 3 and Phase 4 copies. Peculiarities in st 125 suggest that it is Kellner's very last copy. Assuming that he prepared it from lost performing parts in Bach's possession, none of his extant Bach copies could have been prepared after Bach's death on 31 July 1750.<sup>54</sup> 1730 was chosen as the *terminus post quem* for the early and middle Phase 4 copies since Watermark Type J, Form 2, found in the Kellner copy P 804/13, also appears in a Johannes Ringk copy (P 804/52) that appears to have originated after 1730.<sup>55</sup> 1727 was selected as the *terminus post quem* for the middle and late Phase 3 copies because of my view that P 804/16, apparently the earliest Phase 3 copy altogether, dates from 1727. Although it is conceivable that Kellner and Mey prepared P 804/16 after 1727 and that Kellner included the inscription "1727" merely because their exemplar did, Kellner's music script suggests that the copy could have been made as early as 1727 (1727, after all, is the date it carries).

Assigning P 804/16 to 1727 meant that a further group (Phase 2 and certain late Phase 1 copies), which must have been made after P 804/22 (dated 3 July 1726) but before P 804/16, had to be assigned to 1726/27. Copies whose idiosyncrasies indicate that they predate P 804/41 and P 804/29 (both dated 1725) are classified as early Phase 1. Note that Watermark Type O is found in all of them except P 804/21, which, on the basis of its script, I take to be Kellner's very earliest surviving Bach copy. Similarly, the Phase 2 copies are characterized by Watermark Type J.

## THE KELLNER-CIRCLE COPYISTS

*Wolfgang Nicolaus Mey*

Nary a shred of biographical information about Mey has survived. He may have been from around Ohrdruf originally—as a family by the name of May (Mey?) is known to have settled in that area—and he may have had dealings with J. A. G. Wechmar (to be discussed later in his own right) since Wechmar came into possession of two of his copies.<sup>56</sup> About all we can be sure of is that he copied music for Kellner—he appears in twelve P 804 fascicles, five of which bear Kellner's ownership inscription—and that he and Kellner collaborated on two copies (P 804/16 and P 804/55—see figures 4, 5, 22–24).<sup>57</sup> A Mey copy of one of Kellner's organ fugues in ms. 4/9 is also extant, suggesting that he was one of Kellner's keyboard pupils.<sup>58</sup>

The almost uncanny similarities between Mey's hand and Kellner's third and fourth handwriting phases have led scholars to unhesitatingly assign several of his copies to Kellner. But the discrepancies between the two hands are actually substantial enough to allow for them to be distinguished from each other.<sup>59</sup> And certain discrepancies among Mey's copies themselves, coupled with other factors, allow for a chronology.

Any study of Mey's handwriting has to begin with the sources that carry his copyist inscription (P 804/48 and ms. R 16/8 [MBLpz]) as well as those that evidently carried it at one time before being erased (mss. 3/1, 4/9). Investigation of these manuscripts made it possible to identify Mey as the scribe of several others. It would appear that Mey was working as a copyist for Kellner as early as 1725 and that he was still rendering his services after 1727 (how much later than 1727 is impossible to say). Kellner signs his name on Mey's copy of BWV 987 in P 804/34 in a peculiar way—with a printed rather than cursive "K"—remarkably similar to the way he signs three of his own copies (P 804/15, P 804/41, and Inv. 5137) that seem to have originated in or before 1725 (P 804/41 is dated 1725 by Kellner himself), leading to the conclusion that Mey most likely did not prepare P 804/34 after 1725. In comparing this copy to Mey's portion of P 804/16 (Kellner's and Mey's joint copy of Partita III) and P 804/55 (Mey's and Kellner's joint copy of BWV 535/1), which we have already assigned to 1727 and 1727 or later, respectively, I detected discrepancies that made it possible to tentatively date his remaining copies. Watermark study proved to be of no avail. Mey's Bach copies are listed in table 4.



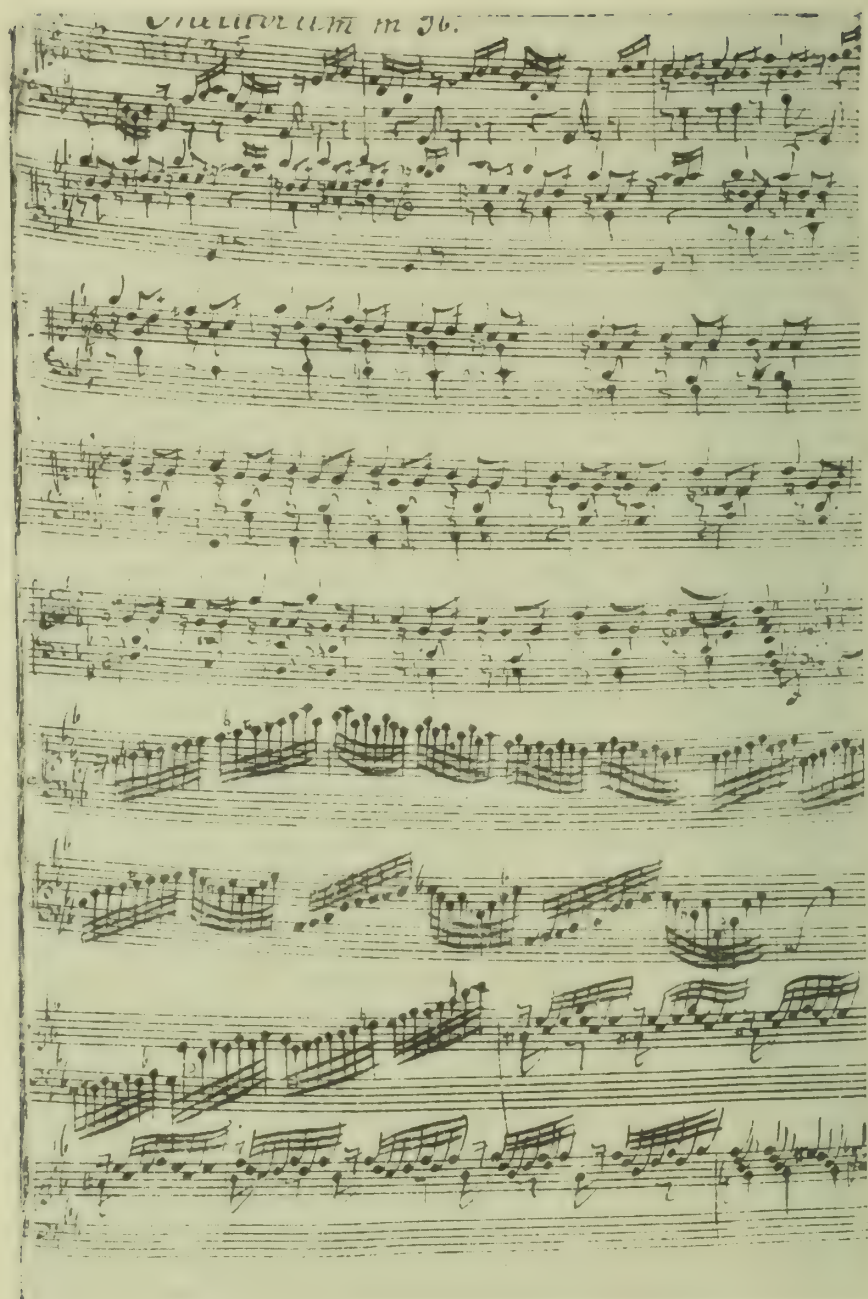




Table 4. The Bach Copies of W. N. Mey

Source	BWV No.	Watermark Type	Handwriting Phase	Proposed Date
P 804/34	987***	A, form 1	early	before 1726
P 804/2	943***	A, form 1	early	1727 or earlier
P 804/16	827	A, form 5	early	1727
P 804/55	535/1**	I, form 1	early	1727 or later
P 804/56	977*	A, form 1	early	1727 or later
P 804/46	986***	A, form 1	middle	after 1727
P 804/3	896/2	A, form 1	late	after 1727
P 804/28	985***	I, form 3	late	after 1727
P 804/35	983**	I, form 4	late	after 1727
P 804/37	949	A, form 1	late	after 1727
P 804/43	Anh. 153*	G	late	after 1727
P 804/48	563/2	A, form 1	late	after 1727
MS. 3/1	639	C	late	after 1727
MS. R 16/8	951a**	C	late	after 1727

### *Johannes Ringk*

Relatively plentiful biographical data on Ringk has survived. He was born in Frankenhain on 25 June 1717. According to Gerber, he studied “beginning” organ with Kellner and, subsequently, composition with G. H. Stölzel in Gotha.<sup>60</sup> He studied with Kellner probably as early as 1730 since what appears to be his first Bach copy carries this date; his studies with Stölzel, which lasted at least six years, must have taken place during the 1730s.<sup>61</sup> Around 1740 Ringk moved to Berlin, where he worked as a music teacher and opera composer. In 1755 he became organist at the Marienkirche there and he remained at this post until his death on 24 August 1778. Ringk’s organ performances, especially his fugal improvisations, earned him accolades in contemporaneous writings.<sup>62</sup> He was known in Berlin for his Bach playing in particular.<sup>63</sup>

In addition to P 804, Ringk appears as a copyist in the following *srk* manuscripts: P 425, P 578, P 583, P 595, P 627, and P 628 (see figure 6). As of

Figure 4. Kellner’s and Mey’s copy of the Prelude in G Minor (BWV 535/1): Kellner, handwriting phase 3, early; Mey, early handwriting phase—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/55, f. 3<sup>v</sup>



1984 his copy of Cantata 202 ("Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten"), which bears the mblpz shelf number ms. R 8, was housed in the Stadtarchiv Leipzig. Dietrich Kilian's detailed study of Ringk's script has resulted in a chronology of all of Ringk's music manuscripts (holographs as well as copies of works by other composers).<sup>64</sup> He was able to detect many differences between Ringk's copy of Cantata 202 (dated 1730) and two of his Stölzel cantata copies (both dated 1756) that have implications for the chronology of his music manuscripts as a whole. I have discovered nothing during the course of my research that would suggest that Kilian's chronology of Ringk's Bach copies, tentative as it may be, is in need of revision. In fact, my watermark investigation corroborates Kilian's conclusions in that Type K appears only in the "after 1730?" copies (save the entry of BWV 541/2 in P 595/6, which represents the completion of an "after 1730?" copy) and Type Y only in those dated "ca. 1740?". Ringk's Bach copies are listed in table 5.

#### *Johann Anton Gottfried Wechmar*

Known through his silhouette collection in the Bach Museum (Eisenach), Wechmar was born in the village of Wechmar (Thuringia) in 1727 to the cantor, J. C. Wechmar.<sup>65</sup> He is reported to have worked there as an organist and schoolmaster from 1747 to 1764. He died in 1799, presumably in Wechmar.

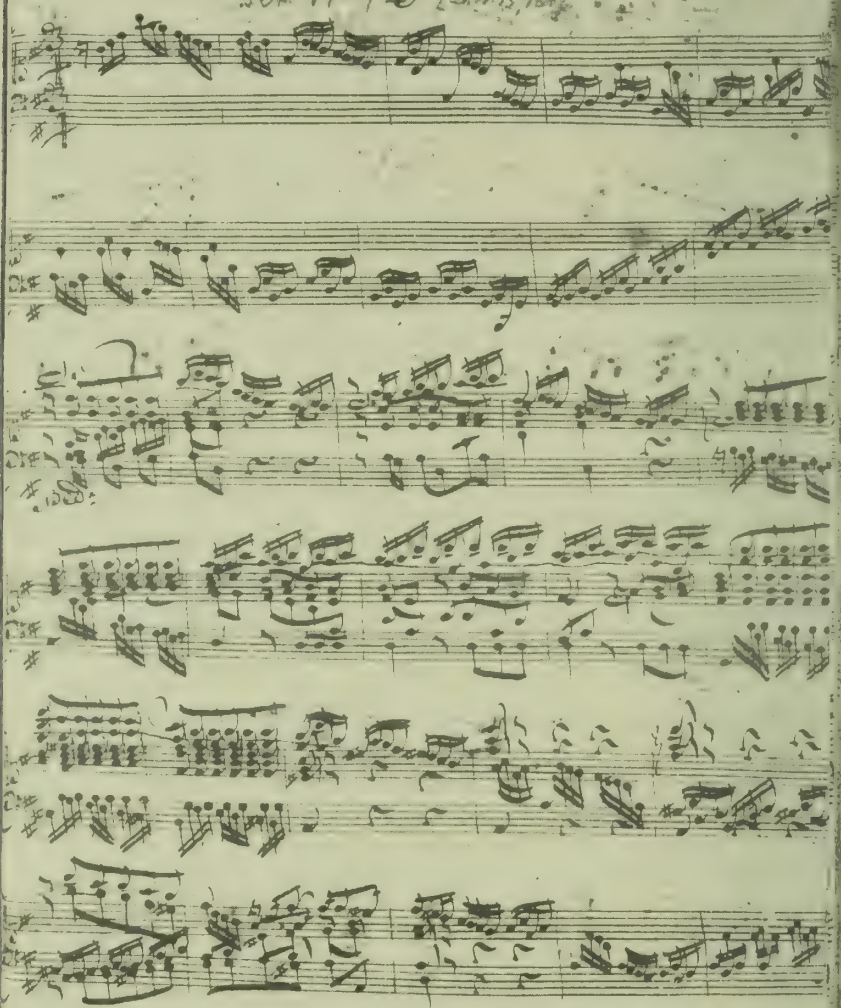
Not a single manuscript exists that carries Wechmar's copyist inscription. His signature appears on the title pages of numerous copies in the mblpz, however, and the same hand can be detected in verbal notations within their scores. Since the music script of these sources can be assigned to no one else, it stands to reason that Wechmar is the copyist of the music too.<sup>66</sup>

There are several indications, beyond the important fact that Gräfenroda and Wechmar are neighboring villages, that Wechmar was a member of the Kellner circle. He prepared copies of Kellner keyboard works and, in four of his Bach copies, he appears to have worked from extant Kellner copies (see table 2).<sup>67</sup> The close similarities between Wechmar's and Kellner's music script, which imply that Wechmar worked frequently from sources in Kellner's hand, have not gone unnoticed either.<sup>68</sup> More-

Figure 5. Mey's copy of the "Imitatio" in B Minor (BWV 563/2): late handwriting phase—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/48, f. 1<sup>v</sup>

ms. no. 1115. 7ms.  
P 595

*Praeludium. pedaliter. D. Joh. Seb. Bach*  
Det. VI 2, 2 [B. W. 15, 169]



*Verle. citc*



Table 5. The Bach Copies of Johannes Ringk

Source	BWV No.	Watermark Type	Proposed Date
MS. R 8	202**	A (form not identified)	dated 1730
P 595/3	950	K	after 1730?
P 595/4	532/2*	K	after 1730?
P 595/6	541/1	K	after 1730?
P 595/7	551*	K	after 1730?
P 595/8	565**	none detected	after 1730?
P 595/9	955	K	after 1730?
P 595/10	992/6	K	after 1730?
P 425/1	533	none detected	after 1730?
P 804/52	984**	J, form 2	after 1730?
P 578	847	V	before 1740?
	851		
	865		
	867		
	869		
P 595/6	541/2	K	before 1740?
P 583	864	none detected	ca. 1740?
P 627	848	Y	ca. 1740?
P 628	850	Y	ca. 1740?

over, Kellner's ties to the Wechmar family are well documented: one Johann Anton Friedrich Wechmar, district court judge and organist in Wechmar, stood as godfather at the baptism of Kellner's youngest son Johann Gottfried in 1770.<sup>69</sup> Nor should it be overlooked that Wechmar came into possession of copies made by Mey and Leonhard Frischmuth (a Kellner pupil to be discussed below) of works by Bach as well as Kellner, and that he copied out one of Frischmuth's organ works, indicating further connections to the Kellner circle.<sup>70</sup> Judging from his birthdate, Wechmar may well have been a Kellner pupil.

A relative chronology of Wechmar's Bach copies is impossible. The handwriting evidence is inconclusive at best and the data on watermarks and exemplars presented in tables 2 and 3 has proven to be of no assistance. But, since he was born in 1727, it is reasonable to assume that none

Figure 6. Ringk's copy of the Prelude in G Major (BWV 541/1): Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. MS. Bach P 595/6, f. 1<sup>r</sup>



of his copies was prepared before 1740. This realization has implications for the dating of other Kellner-circle manuscripts, as will be made clear shortly. Wechmar's Bach copies are listed in table 6.

### *Johann Nicolaus Mempel*

Mempell is often mentioned in the Bach literature for his role in the Mempell-Preller Collection, an important constellation of Bach copies discussed in chapter 1. Little is known about him other than that he was born in the village of Heyda in 1713 and served as cantor in Apolda (near Weimar) from 1740 until his death in 1747. Mempell appears as a Bach copyist in two fascicles of P 804, both of which have been assigned to the 1730s.<sup>71</sup> Mempell's copies of the Sonata in D Major (BWV 963) and Fugue in B Minor on a Theme by Corelli (BWV 579) in P 804/10 bear Kellner's ownership inscription, suggesting that Kellner also owned Mempell's copy of the Suite in A Minor (BWV 818a) in P 804/36. Conversely, Kellner's copy of BWV 848/1 in MS. 8/16 carries Mempell's ownership inscription. Copies (by Mempell and/or his scribe[s]) of Kellner keyboard works were also in Mempell's possession.<sup>72</sup> A J. G. Preller copy of a Kellner keyboard composition has survived too; considering that Preller may have studied under Mempell, Preller may have gained access to the work through him.<sup>73</sup> Add to all of this Heyda's close proximity to Gräfenroda, and it would seem clear beyond any reasonable doubt that Mempell and Kellner were personally acquainted. It has been conjectured that Mempell was one of Kellner's pupils and that he prepared his Bach copies from exemplars in Kellner's hand.<sup>74</sup> Whatever contact they had with each other, it must have taken place primarily before 1740 when Mempell moved from Heyda to Apolda.

### *Leonhard Frischmuth*

According to J. C. Kellner's autobiography, Frischmuth was one of his father's students, but the dates of the instruction are not known. Frischmuth's birthdate and birthplace are unknown too, although it does appear that he was a native Thuringian.<sup>75</sup> Because he was a Kellner pupil we can assume that he was born no earlier than about 1710. He is said to have worked around 1760 as a music teacher and keyboard performer in Amsterdam, where he died in 1764.<sup>76</sup>

As with Wechmar, no sources have survived that bear Frischmuth's

Table 6. The Bach Copies of J. A. G. Wechmar

Source	BWV No.	Watermark Type
MS. 1/2	612	none detected
MS. 1/3	562/1	L, form 2
MS. 1/4	529	L, form 2
MS. 1/5	527	L, form 2
MS. 1/8	547	J, form 4; L, form 2
MS. 1/9	548	M
MS. 1/11	946**	N
	917	
MS. 1/14	544	B, form 2; M
MS. 2	552/1	M
	669–83	
MS. 3/2	540/2	B, form 2
MS. 4/2	870a	M
MS. 4/4	861/1	N
MS. 4/12	528	C; J, form 4

copyist inscription, but his signature is found on two Bach copies: P 804/8, a copy of the Fugue in E Minor (BWV 956); and MS. 1/10, a copy of an organ transcription of the Sinfonia in D Minor (BWV 790), transposed to B minor. Since the music script of these two manuscripts can be assigned to no one else it would seem that Frischmuth is the copyist.<sup>77</sup> (For a facsimile of the copy of BWV 956, see figure 18). The same music script appears in a copy of Kellner's most famous organ chorale, a setting of "Herzlich tut mich verlangen," whose title page may be in Kellner's own hand.<sup>78</sup>

Three factors speak in favor of dating Frischmuth's two Bach copies before about 1760. First, since Wechmar came into possession of MS. 1/10 and since Kellner may have owned the P 804/8 copy (by virtue of its inclusion in P 804), it is likely that the sources changed hands before Frischmuth moved to the Netherlands and it would appear that he did not move there much later than 1760. Secondly, both copies are on Thuringian (rather than Dutch) paper, implying that they were prepared while Frischmuth was still in Thuringia.<sup>79</sup> Thirdly, it makes sense that Frischmuth prepared these sources while he was studying under a Bachian like Kellner, rather than during his Amsterdam years when Bach sources were presumably not so readily available to him. MS. 1/10 seems

not to have originated before about 1740 because it carries a watermark found otherwise only in Wechmar's copies and, possibly, P 804/32, a source that presumably could not have been prepared before about 1738 (see table 2).

### *"Gutjahr"*

A copy of Bach's "Corelli" fugue (BWV 579) in MS. 1/13 carries as its original ownership inscription "Gutjahr," the surname of a family of eighteenth-century Thuringian organ builders.<sup>80</sup> It is reported that in 1753 a son by the name of Johann Christoph was born to Johann Lorenz Gutjahr, an organ builder from Seebergen (near the village of Wechmar), and Kilian hypothesizes that our "Gutjahr"—and, by implication, the scribe of MS. 1/13—is this Johann Lorenz.<sup>81</sup> Just as likely a possibility, though, is Johann Michael Gutjahr, who in 1744 was contracted to build an organ for the Nicolaikirche in Geschwenda (Gräfenroda area), the stoplist and overall disposition of which were drawn up by Kellner.<sup>82</sup> The same copyist is also responsible for an incomplete copy of the Partita on "Christ, der du bist der helle Tag" (BWV 766) in MS. 4/11 and a copy of an organ setting of "Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ" (BWV deest) in MS. 4/3, which he attributes to Bach. (The latter piece will be discussed in chapter 6). All three of these manuscripts bear a watermark (Type N) found in Bach copies by Wechmar. We can therefore conjecture that none originated before 1740.

### *Anonymous Scribes*

As explained earlier, not all of the nameless copyists encountered in P 804 may have been members of the Kellner circle. Still, in order to allow for the possibility that they may have been connected to Kellner in some guise, I have chosen to designate each of them numerically, according to the order of their appearance in the manuscript. Two of the questionable copyists (Anonymous 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14) are not even listed in table 7, the reason being that their portions of P 804 do not contain works by J. S. Bach. Anonymous 4 is the scribe for two Telemann transcriptions in P 804/6 that will be discussed in chapter 6. Anonymous 12's copy of two works by W. F. Bach is found in P 804/39, whose watermark (Type L) indicates eighteenth-century Thuringian provenance.<sup>83</sup> The watermark of Anonymous 7's copy of the Fugue in B-flat Major on a Theme by

Reinken (BWV 954) suggests a pre-1750 origin, while those of Anonymous 1's copy of the Fughetta in C Minor (BWV 961) and Anonymous 9's copy of the Suite in B-flat Major (BWV 821) allow for either a pre- or post-1750 dating.<sup>84</sup> Anonymous 6's copy of the Fugue in C-sharp Minor (transposed to C minor) from the second book of the Well-Tempered Clavier (BWV 873/2) carries a watermark found in st 125 (Kellner's and Anonymous 16's copy of BWV 1052), implying that the two sources are contemporaneous. The joint copy of the Fantasy and Fugue in C Minor (BWV 906) by Anonymous 10 and Anonymous 11, and Anonymous 14's copy of the "Echo" from the French Overture (BWV 831) can be dated according to their exemplars (see table 2).

The remaining scribes evidently knew Kellner in some capacity. With regard to Anonymous 2 and Anonymous 3, this is hinted at by the fact that the title page of P 804/4 is in Kellner's hand and carries his ownership inscription. In addition to a copy of the Gigue in G Major (BWV Anh. 81) by Anonymous 3, this fascicle contains a joint copy by Anonymous 2 and Anonymous 3 of the Concerto in D Minor after Alessandro Marcello (BWV 974).<sup>85</sup> (For facsimiles of Anonymous 3's portion of P 804/4, see figures 19 and 20.) Interestingly, Kellner entered three clefs onto page 16 of the concerto copy—which were erroneously omitted by Anonymous 2—and the bass clef he draws on the third system is representative only of his second handwriting phase of 1726/27.<sup>86</sup> It is clear that Kellner entered the clefs after Anonymous 2 had entered the notes. Hence, it would seem that P 804/4 could not have originated after 1726/27. The watermark of P 425/2, Anonymous 3's copy of the Fugue in B-flat Major on a Theme by Erselius (BWV 955), is perhaps Type J, form 1.<sup>87</sup> Two out of the three Kellner copies bearing this watermark have been dated to 1726/27. The third copy has been assigned to 1727 or later and all of Anonymous 5's copies bearing it can be assigned to the same two-year period (see below). This suggests that P 425/2 also dates from this time and that both Anonymous 2 and Anonymous 3 were active during 1726/27.

Anonymous 2's copy of the Fugue in E Minor (BWV 533/2) in P 804/57 carries in the bottom right corner of its title page the monogram AC or CA, evidently the scribe's initials. Unfortunately, however, the monogram proves to be of no aid in identifying the scribe, for there is no one among Kellner's known students or acquaintances in general with these initials.<sup>88</sup>

Anonymous 5 is by far the most important of the anonymous scribes in the Kellner circle, as well as one of its most important copyists al-

Table 7. Bach Copies by Anonymous Scribes

Scribe	Source	BWV No.	Watermark Type	Proposed Date
Anonymous 1	P 804/1	961*	R	18th century
Anonymous 2	P 804/4	974*	A, form 2	1726/27
Anonymous 2	P 804/57	533/2*	A, form 9	1726/27?
Anonymous 3	P 804/4	974*	A, form 2	1726/27
		Anh. 81***		
Anonymous 3	P 425/2	955*	J, form 1?	1726/27
Anonymous 5	P 804/9	895*	J, form 1	1726/27
Anonymous 5	P 804/30	536/2**	J, form 1	1726/27
Anonymous 5	P 804/47	910	J, form 3	1726/27
Anonymous 5	P 804/49	814	J, form 1	1726/27
Anonymous 5	P 804/53	927	J, form 3	1726/27
		939***		
		940***		
		941***		
		942**		
Anonymous 5	P 286/5	564**	J, form 3	1726/27
Anonymous 5	MS. 1/7	718**	J, form 3	1726/27
Anonymous 5	P 804/54	973*	A, form 5	1727
		Anh. 90		
Anonymous 6	P 804/11	873/2	A, form 4	ca. 1738–50
Anonymous 7	P 804/14	954***	S	first half of 18th century
Anonymous 8	P 804/17	955*	B, form 1	before 1773
Anonymous 8	P 804/50	912 + 912a	U	before 1773
Anonymous 9	P 804/24	821***	B, form 2	18th century
Anonymous 10	P 804/32	906/1	M?	after ca. 1738
Anonymous 11	P 804/32	906/2	M?	after ca. 1738
Anonymous 13	P 804/41	795	F	after 1724
Anonymous 13	MS. 1/15	574	N	after 1740
Anonymous 14	P 804/44	831/11	P	after late 1736/37
Anonymous 15	P 804/55	972*	I, form 1	1727 or later
Anonymous 16	st 125	1052	A, form 4; B, form 3; P; Q	ca. 1738–50



together. (For facsimiles of this scribe's copies of BWV 895 and BWV Anh. 90, see figures 16 and 21, respectively.) Scholars have found it difficult to distinguish his hand from Kellner's and Mey's, and it must be admitted that his script is similar to Kellner's first and second handwriting phases and, to a greater degree, Mey's early handwriting phase.<sup>89</sup> In fact, though, this scribe's hand, which is characterized by large, bulky symbols such as one might attribute to youth or inexperience, is easily distinguishable from theirs.

There can be little doubt that our clumsy copyist worked for Kellner as a scribe. Three of his copies carry Kellner's ownership inscription (P 804/9, P 804/47, P 804/49), and in two other cases he and Kellner collaborated in copying out works.<sup>90</sup> He appears to have been active during 1726/27. First of all, with only one exception, his copies bear either the Type J, form 1 or Type J, form 3 watermark. Of the six Kellner copies with this watermark, four have been dated to 1726/27 (the other two have been assigned to 1727 or later). Since two of these Kellner copies (P 804/30 and P 286/5) are actually joint copies with Anonymous 5, the anonymous scribe's portions must also be assigned to this period. Moreover, Kellner's clef entries in P 804/47 (Anonymous 5's copy of the Toccata in F-sharp Minor, BWV 910) belong unmistakably to his second handwriting phase of 1726/27.<sup>91</sup> There is also Kellner's ornate manner of writing a capital "S" on the title page of P 804/49 (Anonymous 5's incomplete copy of the third French Suite, BWV 814), which is found otherwise only in three of Kellner's own copies (P 804/20, P 804/23, P 804/33) that have been assigned to 1726/27. It seems logical, therefore, to assign all of this scribe's copies to 1726/27 unless there is evidence to the contrary.<sup>92</sup> Such evidence presents itself only in P 804/54, which can be assigned to 1727 instead of 1726/27 since it carries the same watermark as P 804/16, Kellner's and Mey's copy of Partita III, which we have dated to 1727.

Anonymous 8's copies of the Fugue in B-flat Major on a Theme by Erselius (BWV 955) and the Toccata in D Major (BWV 912+912a) both carry Kellner's ownership inscription, so they could not have originated after Kellner's death in 1772.<sup>93</sup> Whether this scribe was active before or after 1750 is impossible to say.

It has never been pointed out that Anonymous 13, the scribe who appears along with Kellner in P 804/41 (a copy of the Inventions and Sinfonias, BWV 772–801) is also responsible for the incomplete copy of the Fugue in C Minor on a Theme by Legrenzi (BWV 574) in MS. 1/15.<sup>94</sup> But in this case, unlike that of Anonymous 3, the script of the two sources

agrees in every respect. The watermark of ms. 1/15 is found in Wechmar's copies, suggesting that Anonymous 13 prepared it after 1740. Whether this means that his portion of P 804/41 also dates from after 1740 instead of 1725, the year in which Kellner wrote out his portion, is impossible to say.

Anonymous 15's copy of the Concerto in D Major after Vivaldi (BWV 972) in P 804/55 can be assigned tentatively to 1727 or later since this is the proposed date of the Kellner/Mey copy of the Prelude in G Minor (BWV 535/1) in the same fascicle. Finally, there is Anonymous 16, who, along with Kellner, prepared st 125, the parts to the D-minor Harpsichord Concerto (BWV 1052). He was evidently a member of the Kellner circle in the late 1730s or 1740s.

#### OTHER MEMBERS OF THE KELLNER CIRCLE

##### *Johann Christoph Kellner*

Kellner's son Johann Christoph was born in Gräfenroda on 15 August 1736. His first music instructor was his father, with whom he studied from the age of six.<sup>95</sup> Christoph also learned about organ construction from his father, as he frequently accompanied him on trips to test organs. At some point before his sixteenth birthday, after acquiring a strong foundation in continuo realization, he began to play the organ for church services. Shortly thereafter his father sent him to nearby Gotha where, for a year and a half, he studied Latin at the *Gymnasium* and music at the court with Georg Anton Benda (1722–95) and a violinist by the name of Hatasch.

Upon returning to Gräfenroda he began to compose sacred vocal music (under his father's supervision), which was performed at the village church.<sup>96</sup> In 1762 he traveled to the Netherlands, spending a year at The Hague and then four weeks in Amsterdam.<sup>97</sup> Upon his return to Germany he stayed for some time in Kassel before going back to Gräfenroda. On 3 April 1764 he was appointed cantor at the Lutheran church in Kassel and in March 1773 was installed as organist at the catholic court there. During his thirty-nine years in Kassel his *Singspiel* "Die Schadenfreude" (published in 1782) was performed to critical acclaim and his thorough-bass treatise *Grundriss des Generalbasses* went through seven printings (1783–96). He died there in 1803.

Christoph's organ studies with his father involved playing works

with obligato pedal by his father as well as Bach, and we can therefore imagine that he regularly copied Bach organ works as he studied them (which is not to say that the father could not have loaned the son copies to practice from too).<sup>98</sup> His contributions to the Bach traditions outside Thuringia will be discussed later in this chapter.

### *Johann Ernst Rembt*

If any of Kellner's students shared his passion for collecting (and performing) Bach, it was the organist and early music specialist, Johann Ernst Rembt. Born in the Thuringian town of Suhl (not far from Gräfenroda) on 27 August 1749, he visited France and the Netherlands in 1768 and made a name for himself there as a virtuoso Bach performer. In 1772 he was appointed organist at the Kreuzkirche in Suhl and a year later he took on the combined position of organist at the Hauptkirche and "sixth" schoolmaster. He remained at the post until his death on 26 February 1810.

By all accounts Rembt diligently collected organ music by Bach and Bach's predecessors throughout his life and, by his death, had amassed a sizable library of old organ works.<sup>99</sup> It had previously been assumed that no portion of his library was extant but an incomplete set of photographs of an organ-chorale anthology evidently in Rembt's hand has recently come to light.<sup>100</sup> This manuscript, presumably destroyed during the Second World War, contained works by Bach's most important German predecessors (Buxtehude, Böhm, Pachelbel) and contemporaries (J. G. Walther and Georg Friedrich Kauffmann). More significantly, it apparently also contained chorales from Bach's *Orgelbüchlein*. The anthology seems to have been compiled not from Kellner copies but from various manuscripts in Walther's hand.<sup>101</sup>

But surely many of Rembt's lost copies (particularly of Bach works) were prepared from copies by Kellner, who must have instilled in his young pupil something of his own admiration for Bach's music—and in Rembt's case, the organ music in particular. We do not know the exact dates of Rembt's studies under Kellner but his late birthdate makes him Kellner's last known student. This realization is significant, for it implies that Kellner was an ardent Bach champion right up until the end and not just during the years in which he prepared his surviving Bach copies. Rembt's overall role in the Bach traditions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is considered below.

*Johann Andreas Kellner*

J. A. Kellner (1724–85) is reported to have served as court organist in Gotha around 1783.<sup>102</sup> He is also linked as scribe and/or owner to a putative copy of the Fantasy in C Minor (BWV 906/1). Beyond this, no information on him has survived.

The paucity of documentation notwithstanding, there is little reason to doubt that this Kellner was related to Johann Peter. The close geographical proximity of Gräfenroda and Gotha—they are only about ten miles apart—and Andreas's birthdate are more than a little suggestive in this regard.<sup>103</sup> Indeed, it is tempting to speculate—bold as it may seem—that they were no less than brothers.<sup>104</sup> Johann Peter states in his autobiography that he is “the first-born of five brothers who, for the most part, are devoted to music.” Why should this musical fraternity not have included the Gotha court organist? Brother, nephew, or cousin—surely these two Kellner's were related and, of course, personally acquainted.

It has been suggested that, upon Peter's death, his Bach manuscripts came into Andreas's possession before ultimately making their way to—in the case of the P 804 fascicles—J. C. Kellner in Kassel and—in the case of the fascicles from P 286, P 287, and P 288—Johann Christian Westphal (1773–1828) in Hamburg.<sup>105</sup> Support for this hypothesis is found in an anonymous copy of the Fantasy in C Minor (BWV 906/1) in P 286/12 (a copy owned by Westphal) that bears the note, most likely in Westphal's hand, “corrected according to a copy of Mr. Johann Andreas Kellner.”<sup>106</sup> Might this “correction exemplar” have been P 804/32, a copy of BWV 906 possibly inherited by Andreas from Peter? There are two other possibilities as well: either that Andreas is the P 804/32 scribe designated here as Anonymous Copyist 10, or that he prepared a copy from P 804/32.

#### THE ACTIVITIES OF THE KELLNER CIRCLE AND ITS ROLE IN THE BACH TRADITIONS OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES: A CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

Now that the scribes have been discussed individually, it seems appropriate to examine the Kellner circle as a whole. We will attempt to trace it from its beginnings to its demise and consider simultaneously how it enriched (and possibly spawned as well) various Bach traditions, both during Kellner's lifetime and after his death.

When Kellner first came into contact with Bach's music and when



he began to copy it are no easy questions. But it is clear that his activities as a Bach copyist and Bach collector were well under way by his twentieth birthday in 1725. And it seems that at about this time he began to engage copyists to supply him with Bach works not contained in his ever-expanding library. Kellner's ownership inscription appears regularly in their copies, indicating that they copied for him and not for themselves and, as far as one can tell, in no instance did they commit to paper Bach works already copied by Kellner.

The first of these copyists is the quasi-anonymous W. N. Mey, whose association with Kellner extended apparently from 1725 or earlier to some point after 1727. The scribes we have designated as Anonymous 2, Anonymous 3, and Anonymous 5 appear to have surfaced a year or so later (during 1726/27), and the scribe cited here as Anonymous 15 may have been pressed into service as early as 1727. Quite possibly one of these copyists is identical with Johann Baumbach (born 1711), a pupil of Kellner's for three months at Frankenhain—so sometime between 21 October 1725 and December 1727—and his earliest known student altogether.<sup>107</sup> At any rate, it would be surprising to learn that Baumbach did not study and copy Bach works under Kellner's supervision, especially in light of Kellner's own activities as a Bach copyist at this time: approximately half of his Bach copies appear to date from about 1725 to 1727. The period 1725 to 1727, therefore, evidently saw the Kellner circle at its most productive, thanks to Kellner as well as his scribes.

It is also worth talking about the types of Bach works that the circle apparently came into contact with during these years. Kellner's fondness for Bach's keyboard transcriptions, which will be discussed in chapter 4, manifests itself here for the first time, as all of his copies of Bach's keyboard transcriptions appear to have been made before 1727. Furthermore, there seems to have been a stretch during the first half of 1726, during the time he was in Frankenhain, when Kellner was copying nothing but unaccompanied string works by Bach.<sup>108</sup> This latter pattern is curious, considering that only a handful or so of the Kellner-circle copies contain anything other than keyboard pieces.

The next member of the circle to emerge is Johannes Ringk (1717–78). Ringk evidently began his studies under Kellner by 1730, at which time he would have been twelve or thirteen, since what is apparently his first Bach copy bears this date—it is quite unthinkable that at this tender age he could have gained access to Bach works on his own, and Kellner is the only Bach connection Ringk is known to have had before moving to



Berlin around 1740. Ringk's copy, the only Kellner-circle copy of a Bach vocal work, contains the wedding cantata, "Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten" (BWV 202). There is little reason to doubt that Ringk prepared this source as early as 1730: his copy of Buxtehude's "Te Deum," also dated 1730, agrees with it graphologically in every detail.<sup>109</sup> But one does wonder just how useful the manuscript would have been for a pubescent "beginner" (to use Gerber's description) organist. It is not more likely that Ringk prepared the copy for his teacher who, as director of church music in Gräfenroda, could have made great use of the work by performing it at village wedding services? (It must be stated, though, that Kellner's ownership inscription appears nowhere in the manuscript.) If so, Ringk's exemplar would not have been a Kellner copy, as is sometimes assumed, but a source owned by one of Kellner's acquaintances—perhaps Bach himself.<sup>110</sup> In any event, Cantata 202 must have been in the Bach repertory of Gräfenroda musicians by 1730 and it may have been the only Bach vocal work performed there during Kellner's lifetime.<sup>111</sup> It joins the unaccompanied violin and cello music and the E-minor flute sonata (BWV 1034) as rare specimens of nonkeyboard works by Bach circulated within the Kellner circle apparently from 1726 to 1730.

Looking at Ringk's other Bach copies, one suspects that he was indeed copying for himself and not his teacher. Kellner's ownership inscription appears in none of them, although the fact that one of Ringk's copies is contained in P 804 strongly suggests that Kellner owned it.<sup>112</sup> Furthermore, they contain keyboard works exclusively, which were obviously of more practical value than a Bach cantata to an adolescent organist.

More importantly, there are certain Ringk copies that were presumably not made while he was a Kellner pupil. He prepared copies of three Bach works that evidently existed in Kellner copies well before 1730: the Prelude and Fugue in G Major (BWV 541), the Prelude in C-sharp Major from the Well-Tempered Clavier, Book I (BWV 848/1), and the Fugue in A Major on a Theme by Albinoni (BWV 950). But in no instance does he appear to have used these Kellner copies as exemplars. It seems that he and Kellner used the same lost exemplar in the case of BWV 541, their copies of BWV 848/1 give different readings, and their copies of BWV 950 are in different keys.<sup>113</sup>

What might have been Ringk's exemplars? At first glance it would seem that, since Kellner is Ringk's only known Thuringian Bach connection, Ringk did not prepare these copies during his Thuringian years but

rather during his long tenure in Berlin (about 1740–78) where, by virtue of the city's strong Bach tradition, there would have been no shortage of Bach manuscripts from which to copy. This view also has implications for Ringk's Bach copies as a whole because it would follow that he continued to copy Bach works after leaving Thuringia. He was, after all, renowned for his Bach playing in Berlin and surely he welcomed the opportunity of adding new Bach compositions to his performing repertory.

The watermarks tell another story, however, for the copies of BWV 541 and BWV 950 are on Thuringian paper (the provenance of the watermark of the BWV 848/1 copy is unknown). Likewise, in all the other instances where there is data on the watermarks in Ringk's copies, the data indicates Thuringian provenance. We have little choice then but to conclude that these copies were prepared while Ringk was still in his native Thuringia (even though there is always the possibility that, while in Berlin, he copied onto blank Thuringian paper that he had brought with him on his move). The evidence bearing on the copies of BWV 541, BWV 848/1, and BWV 950, though, implies that Ringk had Thuringian Bach connections other than Kellner.

It is much more significant for our discussion that Ringk left Thuringia, evidently before any other Kellner pupil. When he arrived in Berlin around 1740 he must have made a profound impact on the burgeoning Bach tradition there. Surely he brought with him (numerous?) Bach copies that circulated among his pupils and among that city's Bach lovers. He was also one of those "brave" Berlin organists whom Zelter remembered as having played "almost nothing but works by the old Bach."<sup>114</sup>

As a Kellner pupil around 1730, Ringk may have had some company. For example, judging from his birthdate, the Kellner pupil and, from 1749, organist in Wölffis, J. N. Fabricius (born 1712), probably studied under Kellner in the late 1720s or early 1730s.<sup>115</sup> (Fabricius has already been mentioned in connection with the Andreas Bach Book and Möller Manuscript.) The Kellner pupil, Jacob Kummer (born 1717), born in the same year as Ringk, possibly studied under Kellner in the 1730s. The instruction presumably could not have taken place any later than 1742 when Kummer was appointed schoolmaster in Liebenstein.<sup>116</sup> We know nothing of any Bach performances by Fabricius or Kummer but one can well imagine that they emerged from their studies with Kellner acquainted with Bach's music and eager to disseminate it in their Thuringian villages as best they could.

Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721–83) was another of Kellner's pupils in the 1730s and, like Ringk, he wound up in Berlin where he became one of the century's great Bach champions. Following his studies with Kellner, Kirnberger went to Sondershausen to study under the Bach student H. N. Gerber and from there to Leipzig to study under Bach. It would be fatuous to argue that Kirnberger's studies under Kellner were more decisive for his appreciation and knowledge of Bach's music than his studies with Bach himself (or even Gerber, for that matter). But it certainly makes sense that Kellner introduced Kirnberger to Bach's music and arranged for him to study with Gerber and possibly Bach. Kellner's contribution to the Berlin Bach circle, which, of course, included Ringk as well as Kirnberger, can scarcely be overestimated.

We should not overlook Johann Nicolaus Mempel (1713–47) either, for even though it cannot be proved that he was a Kellner pupil, he and Kellner must have been in contact in the 1730s, the decade in which Mempel was evidently most active as a Bach copyist/collector. Kellner must have found it stimulating indeed to have as a neighbor a fellow organist and Bach disciple as devoted as himself. We do not know the extent to which they used each other's copies as exemplars, however, and this thwarts any efforts to more precisely define the nature of their association.

Kellner continued to attract pupils in the 1740s. There was, of course, Kellner's son, Johann Christoph (1736–1803), who began his studies with his father in 1742, and there was Johann Georg Gressler (born 1732), who studied with Kellner in 1745/46.<sup>117</sup> A third pupil, Johann Valentin Scherlitz (1732–93), probably studied under Kellner either in the 1740s or early 1750s since by either 1751 or 1752 he had embarked on a career as organist and schoolmaster in Hesse.<sup>118</sup> It is possible that these pupils are identical with anonymous scribes in the Kellner-circle sources who were active presumably between about 1738 and 1750 (Anonymous 6 and Anonymous 16). There is also the possibility that one of these pupils is identical with Anonymous 8, a scribe who appears to have copied for Kellner but whose copies are undatable except in very general terms.

We have yet to consider in this survey Johann Anton Gottfried Wechmar (1727–99) and the Kellner pupil, Leonhard Frischmuth (died 1764), two scribes who were active evidently around 1740 or later. Wechmar appears to have used certain Kellner copies as exemplars, demonstrating that he was copying for himself and not Kellner. In copying the Fantasy in C Minor (BWV 562/1), however, he does not seem to have

worked from Kellner's copy in P 288/11, implying that he had Bach connections outside the Kellner circle.<sup>119</sup> Frischmuth's copy of an organ transcription of the *Sinfonia in D Minor* (BWV 790) may have been prepared from Kellner's copy in P 804/41, despite differences in key, clef, and stave layout.

Now that we have considered all the known scribes of the Kellner circle, we should make some general observations about the types of Bach keyboard works that they copied. First of all, their predilection for Bach's fugues on themes by other composers could not be more pronounced. We know of seven such works—BWV 574 (Legrenzi); BWV 579 (Corelli); BWV 946, 950, and 951 (Albinoni); BWV 954 (Reinken); and BWV 955 (Erselius)—and every one of them exists in at least one Kellner-circle copy.<sup>120</sup> Similarly, all five of Bach's organ concerto-transcriptions for manuals and pedal (BWV 592–96) appear to have been copied by Kellner, although only two such copies have survived. Turning to Bach's concerto transcriptions that are either for organ—manuals alone—or harpsichord (BWV 592a and BWV 972–87), one finds that over half of these seventeen works exist in Kellner-circle manuscripts.<sup>121</sup> It should be added that two and possibly three more of Bach's keyboard adaptations of works by other composers are to be found in Kellner-circle copies: the Sonatas in A Minor and C Major (BWV 965 and BWV 966, respectively, based on Reinken sonatas) and the Sonata in A Minor (BWV 967), which may be an arrangement of a lost orchestral or chamber work.<sup>122</sup>

The Kellner circle's role in disseminating Bach's keyboard transcriptions—and under the rubric of transcription can be included the seven fugues on "themes" by other composers where the borrowed material is by no means confined to opening themes—is unequalled in the number of such works committed to paper. Considering that several of the copies represent the earliest source while others represent the only source, it is to be wondered just how many of these works would have survived at all had it not been for Kellner and his scribes. Finally, Kellner's obvious interest in Bach's keyboard transcriptions suggests that he was keenly interested in keyboard transcription in general, an issue that will be of considerable import in chapter 4.

The abundance of transcriptions is just as impressive as the dearth of organ chorales. Among the major Bach scribal circles operating in Thuringia during the first half of the eighteenth century only in the Kellner circle are Bach organ chorales infrequently encountered. It could have been that Kellner did not find Bach's organ chorales as useful as his free



works. After all, if he needed a chorale prelude for a church service, he could have improvised something without much difficulty since he surely knew the chorale tunes intimately. Flashy concerto arrangements, on the other hand, would have served ideally for concerts as well as church services. Moreover, with respect to their models, they would have acquainted him with foreign compositional styles like Vivaldi's—which must have sounded thoroughly exotic to a provincial Thuringian—that he otherwise might never have encountered.

In looking at the four organ chorales copied by Kellner himself, one gets the sense that Kellner was copying to suit certain liturgical repertory needs. In the case of the two works in P 804/42—"Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr" (BWV 715) and "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend" (BWV 726)—the needs would have been general: both chorales appear to have been sung in German churches, or at least some German churches, every Sunday of the year.<sup>123</sup> The two settings in P 274/3—"Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ" (BWV 722) and "Lobt Gott, ihr Christen, allzugleich" (BWV 732)—on the other hand, are Christmas chorales. All four are examples of the so-called "Arnstadt Congregational Chorales," those rather bizarre settings that use bold, full-fisted chordal harmonizations and rhapsodic "monophonic" interludes between phrases. Did they confuse Kellner's congregation(s) as much as they allegedly did Bach's?

We will conclude by considering the Kellner circle after 1750. Whereas Ringk and Kirnberger made their way northeast to Berlin, J. C. Kellner and Frischmuth left Thuringia and headed west for the Netherlands. It seems that Frischmuth lived in Amsterdam for at least four years (about 1760–64), but possibly much longer, while J. C. Kellner spent a year at The Hague and four weeks in Amsterdam (1762–63). In any event we can imagine that they made their mark in that country as Bach performers, just as we can conjecture that they brought Bach manuscripts into the country, which served to disseminate Bach's music there. (Frischmuth, though, apparently left his only two extant Bach copies in Thuringia. A third Kellner pupil, J. E. Rembt, would in 1768 visit the Netherlands, performing Bach works there to great acclaim. If one can speak of a Dutch Bach tradition in the late eighteenth century, it surely owed its existence in some measure to J. P. Kellner.

Turning back to Germany, during his long stay in Kassel (1764–1803) J. C. Kellner must have performed Bach organ works from his own copies as well as from those inherited from his father. Among his colleagues in Kassel was the organist (from 1770 on) of the city's Lutheran court, the



alleged Bach pupil, Johann Becker (1726–1810).<sup>124</sup> Two of Becker's Bach copies have survived—they contain the Preludes and Fugues in C Major and E Minor (BWV 547 and BWV 548, respectively)—and it has been conjectured that his exemplars were among those manuscripts from J. P. Kellner's estate inherited by J. C. Kellner.<sup>125</sup> It has also been suggested that J. C. Kellner put these manuscripts at the disposal of the famous Bach biographer, Forkel, who—as an inhabitant of not-so-distant Göttingen—may have copied Bach concerto transcriptions from them.<sup>126</sup>

Just as important in this regard is Kellner's last known pupil, Rembt. According to his obituary, Rembt "incessantly" studied Bach works, which must have included chorales, fugues, and trios for organ, the genres that dominate Rembt's compositional output. Within these anachronistic forms is a compositional style steeped in that of Bach, as well as that of Mozart and Haydn.

Rembt also had contact with Bach authorities and devotees outside Thuringia. He corresponded with C. P. E. Bach (about what we can only guess) and dedicated a set of organ trios to him in 1787. He dedicated a group of organ fuguettes to J. A. Hiller (1728–1803), a guiding force behind the Leipzig Bach tradition after 1750 and, from 1789 to 1801, cantor of that city's Thomasschule, the same position Bach himself had held.<sup>127</sup> Rembt surely visited Hiller during his sojourn to Leipzig in 1797, which may have been less a business trip—his publisher, Breitkopf and Härtel, was there—than a Bach pilgrimage.

It would be reasonable to assume that Rembt's death in 1810 effectively brought the activities of the Kellner circle to a close. He was not only Kellner's last known pupil but also, from 1803 (the year of J. C. Kellner's death), his last living pupil. The following inscription, though, found on a copy of the Fugue in B Minor (BWV 544/2), has other implications: "Large fugue with obbligato pedal by Johann Sebastian Bach. Copied in August 1840 by J. P. Kellner, Organist in Frankfurt am Main, [for] his highly revered friend, Mr. [J. C. H.] Rinck, court organist at Darmstadt."<sup>128</sup> Not Kellner's ghost but his namesake, a Bach-copying Frankfurt organist. The true identity of this mysterious "J. P. Kellner" will probably never be known. But might he have been named for his Thuringian grandfather or great-grandfather with whom he shared an appreciation for Bach fugues?



CHAPTER III  
KELLNER'S RELIABILITY AS A  
SCRIBE AND HIS COPY OF THE  
SONATAS AND PARTITAS FOR  
UNACCOMPANIED VIOLIN  
(BWV 1001–6)

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Having attended to various philological and historical matters in the previous chapter, the focus will now shift to the music itself. The works to be discussed are particularly interesting (and problematic) with respect to their authenticity, chronology, and compositional history. Yet they are still somewhat misunderstood or neglected, owing in part to the absence of a comprehensive study of the Kellner-circle copies.

It might come as a surprise that first to be discussed are the Sonatas and Partitas for Unaccompanied Violin, pieces whose authenticity and chronology are relatively secure. They are preserved in an autograph (SPK, P 967), dated 1720 in the composer's own hand.<sup>1</sup> As a fair copy—as opposed to a heavily corrected composing score—this source tells us little about the set prior to its final version. How did the individual movements evolve from the moment Bach originally conceived them until the time he wrote out this manuscript? Only by comparing the autograph with the collection's second most important source, Kellner's copy in P 804/22, is it possible to gain a glimpse into the pre-history of these incomparable masterpieces.

Kellner's copy, finished on 3 July 1726 (its final page bears this date), is incomplete, omitting the whole Partita in B Minor; the Allemande and Courante from the Partita in D Minor; and the Loure, Menuett II, Bourée, and Gigue from the Partita in E Major. Furthermore, the works are given in a very different order from that in the autograph. Bach wrote out the set in the same familiar sequence printed in the BWV: G-minor sonata, B-minor partita, A-minor sonata, D-minor partita, C-major sonata, E-major partita; in Kellner's copy the order is: G-minor

sonata, A-minor sonata, C-major sonata, E-major partita, D-minor partita.

However, the most important discrepancy between the two manuscripts involves variant versions of three of the best-known movements from the collection: the Chaconne from the D-minor partita and the fugues from the G-minor and C-major sonatas. The Kellner copy gives substantially shorter versions of all three movements and provides material for the two fugues not found in the autograph. These variants are also noteworthy because they are the only versions of any movements from the collection, excluding transcriptions, that differ significantly from the autograph.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, they differ more sharply than any versions—transcriptions included—with regard to length. We will be concerned with their authenticity.

In addition to being the only source for the variants, Kellner's copy is the only source that presents the works in the fragmentary state or disjunct order outlined above. Evidently his exemplar(s) have not survived.<sup>3</sup>

Scholars have for decades been aware of the uniqueness of Kellner's copy but even the most thorough discussions of it are superficial and inconclusive. For example, in a recent essay on the manuscript Helmut Braunlich unhesitatingly accepts all three variants as authentic early versions, despite some fairly obvious clues to the contrary.<sup>4</sup> In the critical commentary to the *NBA* violin-works volume the only statement made regarding their authenticity is that they should in no way be interpreted as the results of "unauthorized liberties" on Kellner's part because of his "deep respect" for Bach.<sup>5</sup> Nowhere in either of these discussions is the manuscript compared to other Bach copies by Kellner, nor are there any remarks on Kellner's possible motives for preparing the source—two rather crucial concerns in attempting to determine the variants' authenticity.

Perhaps the best way of approaching this topic is to consider Kellner's activities as a scribe and musician. As a copyist of Bach's music, he can hardly be taken as a model of dependability or even scrupulousness.<sup>6</sup> He commonly notates wrong pitches and rhythms and often inadvertently omits individual notes and entire measures.<sup>7</sup> And this carelessness is plainly evident in the copy of the violin works, whose numerous errors range from incorrect notation of pitch and rhythm to the omission or duplication of whole bars.

Of greater significance are the ways in which Kellner seems to will-

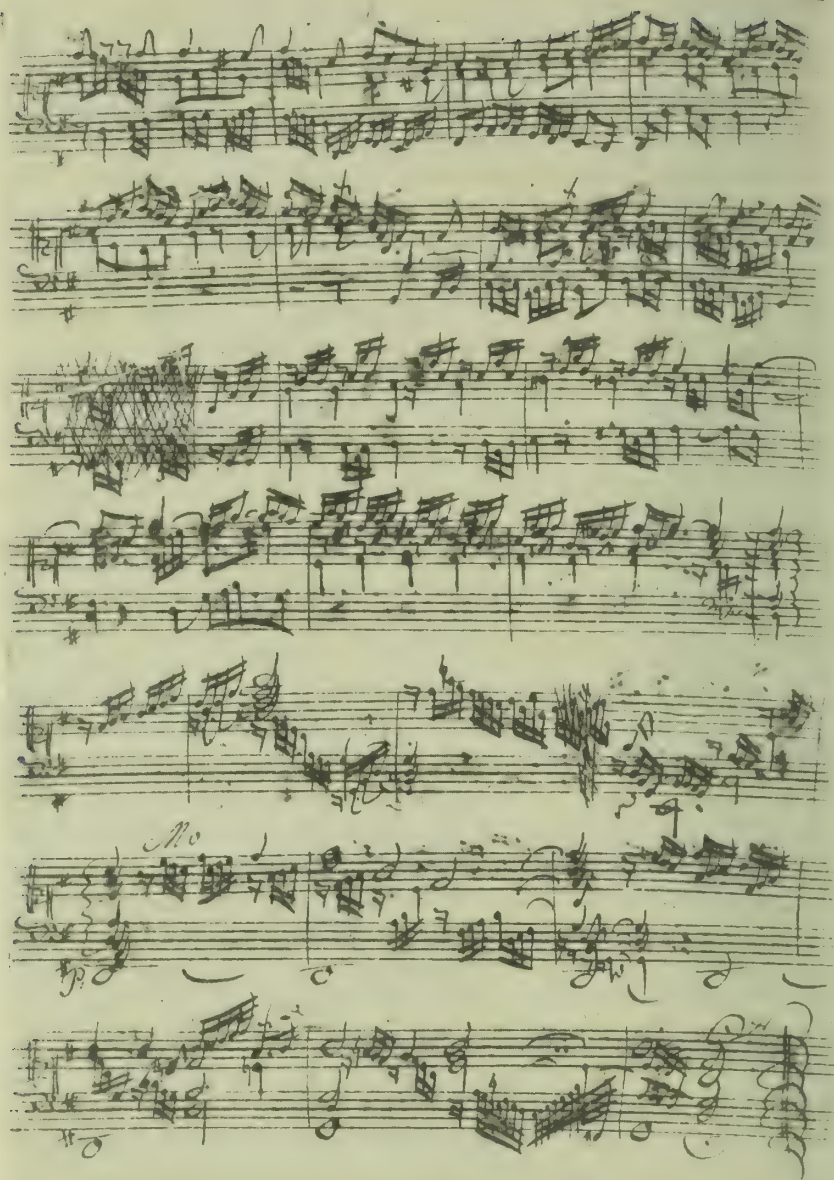
fully deviate from his exemplars. In certain instances he appears to replace readings with material of his own composition, obviously in hopes of arriving at a better text.<sup>8</sup> As more of the works copied by Kellner are published in the NBA, the number of such cases will doubtless grow.

Tampering of an entirely different ilk is seen in the copy of the Fugue in A Major on a Theme by Albinoni (BWV 950) in P 804/51. Kellner gives the work in G major and, as is clear from many passages notated a second too high, he transposed it from A major to G major as he copied (see figure 7).<sup>9</sup> He also intended to play this work, traditionally regarded as a harpsichord piece, on the organ, prescribing the use of pedal for the V–I pedalpoints in the final six bars. He was apparently not transposing down (as Bach often did) because the A-major version contained high pitches unavailable on his manual and pedal divisions that would have been playable taken down a whole step: the A-major version never ascends above b<sup>''</sup>—most keyboards at the time went at least as high as c<sup>'''</sup>—and the two pedal notes called for—E and A—were available on virtually any seventeenth- or eighteenth-century pedalboard.

In looking for reasons beyond manual and pedal compass, one might conjecture that the transposition was undertaken either because G major is merely an easier key on the organ (or any keyboard instrument) since it involves fewer upper keys, or—and this is a somewhat more attractive hypothesis—because the tuning of Kellner's organ was inappropriate for the A-major version. The keys of C-sharp minor and F-sharp minor that the A-major version employs in mm. 46–59 are definitely incompatible with mean-tone tuning, the most commonly used temperament for baroque keyboard instruments, especially organs. Transposing the piece down a major second would have eliminated any difficulties in this regard. However, it has recently been maintained that in Central German (as opposed to North German) organs during the first half of the eighteenth century there was a move away from mean tone to the well-tempered system, so any further thoughts in this direction would be pointless.<sup>10</sup>

The Albinoni-fugue copy is an exceptional case, difficult to account for. More numerous, somewhat easier to explain, and directly bearing on the violin-works copy are those Kellner copies that transmit works in abbreviated and almost certainly corrupt versions. For instance, his copy of the Concerto in C Major after Vivaldi's "Grosso Mogul" (BWV 594) in Inv. 5137 leaves off the cadenza of the first movement entirely and gives a drastically shortened reading for that of the last movement;<sup>11</sup> his copy of





the Prelude and Fugue in C Major (BWV 531) in P 274/3 truncates the fugue by over thirty bars;<sup>12</sup> and his copy of the Aria Variata (BWV 989) in P 804/21 omits the eighth and ninth variations (as well as inserting the tenth variation between the fourth and fifth), even though it appears to derive from the same lost exemplar as J. T. Krebs's copy in P 801, which preserves the work in a much more conventional format.<sup>13</sup> Since none of the exemplars for these three Kellner copies appears to have survived, it is impossible to say with certainty just how responsible he is for these versions. But they are found in no other sources except manuscripts prepared from his copies, and this alone suggests that he fashioned them himself.<sup>14</sup>

Two of Kellner's lost copies also reportedly transmitted works in abbreviated versions whose authenticity is doubtful. His lost copy of the Prelude and Fugue in G Major (BWV 550) is said to have omitted many bars at the end of the prelude; two extant copies (SPK, P 642 and P 924) that must derive from Kellner's manuscript also lack measures at this spot, informing us precisely as to the missing material (mm. 46–62).<sup>15</sup> The other lost copy is that of the Fugue in C Minor on a Theme by Legrenzi (BWV 574), which is claimed to have dropped altogether the toccata-like conclusion, recalling the excision of the first-movement cadenza in the "Grosso Mogul" copy. We should also raise the possibility that Kellner prepared an abbreviated (lost) copy of Buxtehude's "Te Deum" (mm. 1–40 only), from which Ringk may have prepared his abbreviated copy (see chapter 2).

Kellner's unreliability as a copyist aside, we should consider his motives for preparing his copy of the violin works. According to the autobiography of his son Johann Christoph, Kellner did play the violin, but to what degree of proficiency is unclear.<sup>16</sup> Judging from his Bach copies and his own surviving compositions, as well as biographical data, any involvement he had with the violin (or any other instruments besides keyboard instruments) was decidedly subordinate to his activities as a copyist, composer, and performer of keyboard music: only four of his forty-six Bach copies contain works other than solo keyboard compositions; his only surviving instrumental works are for solo keyboard and he mentions no works for other instrumental media in the work-list of his autobiography; and Johann Christoph's autobiography is the only

Figure 7. Kellner's copy of the Fugue in A Major on a Theme by Albinoni (BWV 950), transposed to G Major: handwriting phase 1, early-Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/51, f. 2<sup>v</sup>

source, contemporaneous or posthumous, that mentions his father in connection with the violin. It should also be mentioned that four of Kellner's pupils, including Johann Christoph, are reported to have studied keyboard with him but violin with others—implying that Kellner lacked experience as a violinist.<sup>17</sup> It soon becomes a matter of considerable doubt that Kellner had the technical ability to have performed these works—among the most demanding in the violin repertoire—nor is there any evidence that he might have prepared a copy from which someone else could perform.

Kellner's copy of another set of unaccompanied string compositions by Bach in P 804/40, the six cello suites (BWV 1007–12), may offer some clues as to other reasons for the preparation of the violin-works copy. Significantly, these two manuscripts (with the exception of the present outer bifolio of the copy of the cello suites) appear to have been prepared at about the same time (specifically, during the first half of 1726). The copy of the cello suites is complete, save for the fifth suite (C minor) in which Bach calls for the *a* string to be tuned down a whole step and, to judge from numerous pitch errors in his copy, Kellner's exemplar must have utilized this tuning.<sup>18</sup> Instead of retaining the *scordatura* in his copy, though, Kellner labored to notate at sounding pitch all passages on the *a* string. Evidently the task proved to be so troublesome that the Sarabande was completely omitted and only the first nine bars of the Gigue were copied. Kellner's notation of these passages would seem to reveal that he did not copy out the fifth suite for it to be performed on a cello. If the work is played without the *scordatura*, certain alterations have to be made in the chordal writing that Kellner did not bother to incorporate into his copy.<sup>19</sup>

The natural conclusion is that Kellner copied the cello suites primarily to have a reference copy at his disposal. But the possibility that he also had keyboard transcription in mind should not be dismissed out of hand. As has already been shown, he and other members of his circle copied out an unusually large number of Bach's keyboard transcriptions and, more importantly, there is evidence that he prepared organ arrangements of a lost Bach chamber work himself (to be discussed in the next chapter). It should also be pointed out that two of Kellner's pupils are known to have been active as keyboard transcribers, implying that he may have used keyboard transcription as a pedagogical tool.<sup>20</sup> (Other evidence bearing on keyboard transcription within the Kellner circle will be presented in the next chapter.) In addition to Kellner's obvious interest in transcription, there is the fact that it is definitely advantageous to work



from a source that uses normal tuning when preparing a keyboard arrangement of a string composition. I am not proposing by any means, however, that Kellner planned on transcribing all six suites for keyboard. The sheer size of such an undertaking would have made this prohibitive, as would the realization that newly composed material would have had to have been added for harmonic support and contrapuntal interest if the arrangements were to have resembled the surviving keyboard arrangements of the unaccompanied violin pieces (BWV 964 and BWV 968).

Whatever the motives, it seems quite clear that the fifth suite was not written out for cello performance. No source mentions Kellner in conjunction with the cello, which—coupled with the sizable technical demands of the set—makes it very doubtful that he copied any of them to be performed by himself or anyone else.<sup>21</sup> The same is likely to be true of the violin works, and the first variant to be discussed—an extremely abbreviated reading of the Chaconne from the D-minor partita—presents more evidence to corroborate this theory.

But first, a note on the ordering in Kellner's copy of the violin works. When Bach altered the length of a composition in the process of revising it, he almost always made it longer.<sup>22</sup> One might conjecture, therefore, that Kellner's copy represents Bach's first draft of the collection since three of its movements are considerably shorter than the versions in the autograph. The next step in this line of reasoning, because of the huge ordering discrepancies between the two sources, would be that Bach substantially changed the ordering of the set when he revised these movements. It is not really all that difficult to believe that Bach's original scheme was of two distinct halves—sonatas and partitas—the decision to alternate being taken in the revised plan; both arrangements are logical enough. However, certain peculiarities in the ordering and numbering of the pieces in Kellner's copy suggest that it is derived from a source or sources that presented the works in the same order found in the autograph.

The ordering of the sonatas in Kellner's copy agrees entirely with the autograph, while that of the partitas does not in any way agree. Though Bach uses the same numerical designations for the sonatas as the partitas—*Sonata 1<sup>ma</sup>*, *Partita 1<sup>ma</sup>*, *Sonata 2<sup>da</sup>*, *Partita 2<sup>da</sup>*, and so on—Kellner uses different numerical designations for the two. He numbers the sonatas on his title page as well as in the individual work headings exactly as does Bach, but with the partitas no numbers are given in work headings and those used on the title page appear after the respective titles: *Partita in*

*E♯.1.* and *Partita in D♭.2.* These discrepancies imply that whoever arranged the works in the order found in Kellner's copy retained numerical designations only for those pieces whose ordering agreed with the autograph's. From the discussion above of Kellner's scribal methods, it seems likely that Kellner himself is the culprit. Just think of his (unauthorized?) ordering of the *Aria Variata*.

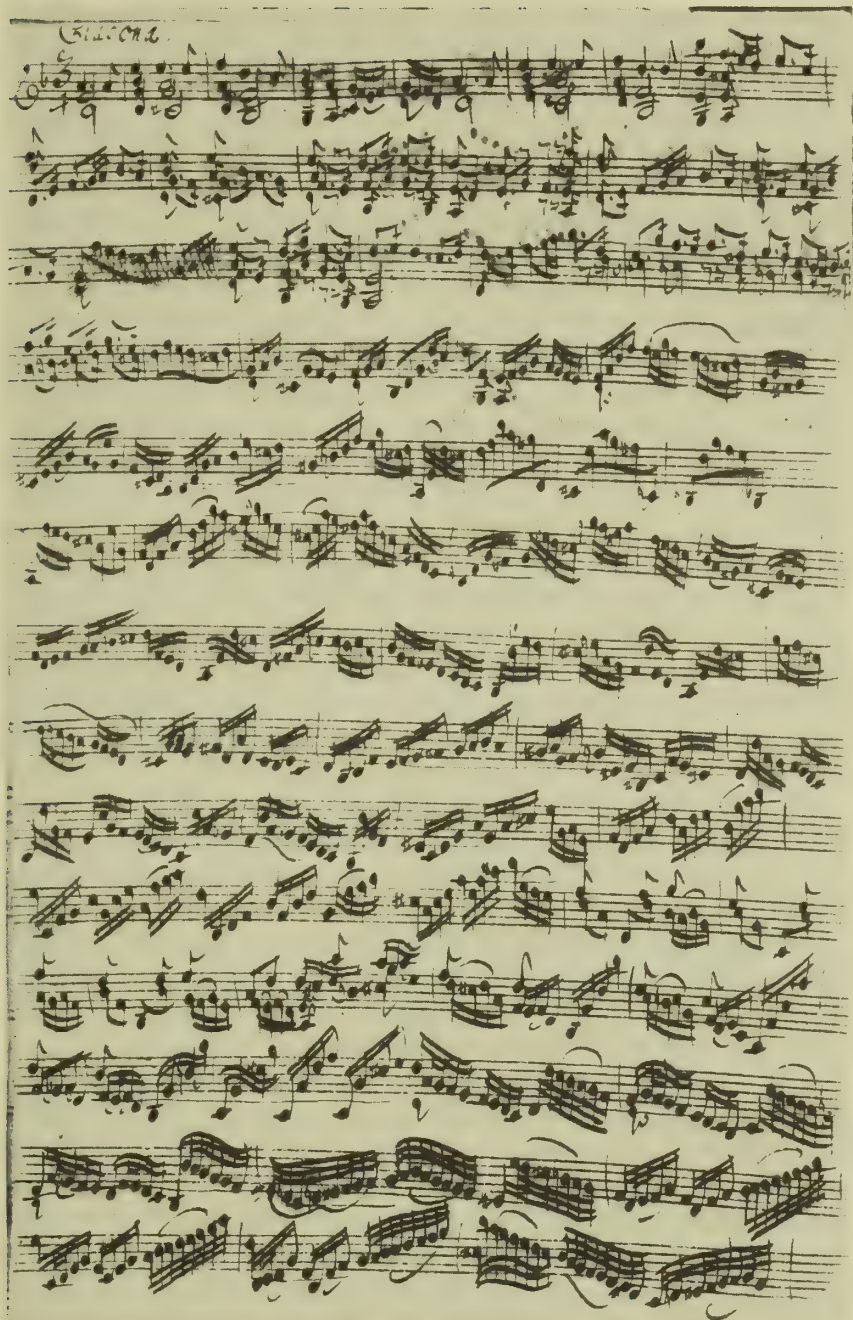
The Chaconne from the D-minor partita in Kellner's manuscript is roughly three-fifths the size of the standard 257-bar version found in the autograph, omitting five passages that vary in length from four to forty bars (mm. 21–24, 89–120, 126–40, 177–216, 241–44).<sup>23</sup> The first and last of these omissions, each comprising a single variation, can easily be explained as straightforward copying oversights. In the first instance, Kellner notates only the d'' on the downbeat of m. 21 and proceeds directly to the second eighth of m. 25 (see figure 8, fourth system, second bar). That m. 25, in Kellner's exemplar, was identical to that in the autograph is attested to by the fact that he prematurely notated the bar exactly as it appears in the autograph (with a d'–f' chord on the downbeat) immediately after m. 14 (third system), along with the first beat of m. 26, before crossing out the one-and-one-third measures (see figure 8, third system, first bar). Had Kellner not prematurely entered mm. 25–26, the omission of mm. 21–24 would automatically raise suspicion on musical grounds. In the autograph all the variations in the first forty measures are grouped in pairs; with an entire variation excluded, the phrase balance of those bars is seriously impaired. Turning to the omission of mm. 241–44, it is easy to see how Kellner could have skipped from m. 240 to m. 245 since m. 241 and m. 245 both begin with d's.

The remaining three excluded sections do not appear to have been omitted through mere carelessness, due to the large amount of material lost. But the musical success of the variant is so effectively diminished with these bars missing that they serve only to raise further doubts about the variant's authenticity.

In order to put the first of these omitted passages (mm. 89–120) into context, consider this pattern: each instance in the autograph where the final note of a variation is a g or the final chord contains a g (eighteen in all), the note resolves downward by step.<sup>24</sup> When m. 88 runs uninter-

Figure 8. Kellner's copy of the Chaconne from the Partita in D Minor (BWV 1004), dated 3 July 1726: handwriting phase 1, late-Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/22, f. 12<sup>v</sup>





tedly into m. 121, the g' "resolves" quite peculiarly by leap to a d'. It seems only too coincidental that the only instance where the g does not resolve by step involves a section of excluded material.

The exclusion of mm. 126–40 is suspicious on two accounts. First, it fragments the variation at mm. 125–28 by omitting its last three bars, leaving m. 125 as an isolated unit. True, this variation is unique in that the sixteenths in its first measure function as a transition between the thirty-second-note figuration of the previous variations and the return of the material from mm. 6–8 at mm. 126–28. And one could conjecture that Bach originally isolated m. 125 to serve as a bridge between the first large D-minor section and the D-major section. But in the autograph the Chaconne is constructed exclusively of four-bar units with the exception of the final variation. Again, it seems too coincidental that the only bar from Kellner's copy that does not fit into this scheme is linked to omitted material.

The type of modulation that arises when m. 125 moves without break into m. 141 is perhaps more significant. Interestingly, in the autograph new key areas are initiated with d octaves (see m. 133 and m. 209), immediately preceded by an A-major chord, the dominant of both D minor and D major, allowing for a smooth and gradual modal shift. In Kellner's copy the D-major section is immediately preceded by a beat in G minor, that is, a sonority found only in D minor, and begins with an f♯', resulting in a comparatively abrupt modulation.

The fourth and most substantial of the cuts (mm. 177–216) does not show these weaknesses: there is a smooth and convincing transition between m. 176 and m. 217 in continuous sixteenths with a V–I cadence virtually identical to that at mm. 244–45. But this in no way erases the deficiencies arising from the previous two. Another reason for questioning the authenticity of this variant is the type of passagework contained in these three omitted segments, and it is in this regard that Kellner's motives for preparing his copy of the movement are pertinent.

In an article published in 1920 the violinist and musicologist Andreas Moser proposed that Kellner excluded certain passages from his copy of the Chaconne because of the technical difficulties they pose for the violinist.<sup>25</sup> It is an argument not without basis. The three large segments missing from Kellner's copy unquestionably contain some of the most demanding passages in the entire movement, most notably the famous *arpeggiando* material in mm. 89–120 and mm. 201–8, but also the difficult quadruple stopping in mm. 126–30. We cannot presume, however, that

Kellner sought only to produce a simplified performing score because his copy also preserves some of the Chaconne's most technically challenging passages, including the thirty-second-note figuration of mm. 65–88.

One might more successfully explain these omissions by arguing that Kellner prepared his copy of the Chaconne to transcribe it for keyboard. Undoubtedly the two sections that pose the greatest problem in being transferred to a keyboard (unless they are transcribed as block chords), being least idiomatic, are the two *arpeggiando* passages. Fast scalar passagework like that in mm. 65–88, conversely, is a hallmark of baroque keyboard writing. But the transcription hypothesis can in no way account for the omission of mm. 126–40 and mm. 177–200, which are easily adaptable to a keyboard. Both are characterized by extensive multiple-stop writing, a feature common throughout Kellner's copy. Since both the transcription theory and Moser's hypothesis are fraught with incongruities, a case could be made for Kellner's having deleted (arbitrarily?) certain passages from the Chaconne simply because of its length. Whatever the case, the evidence leads us to suspect that he knowingly excised portions of the Chaconne as he copied it.

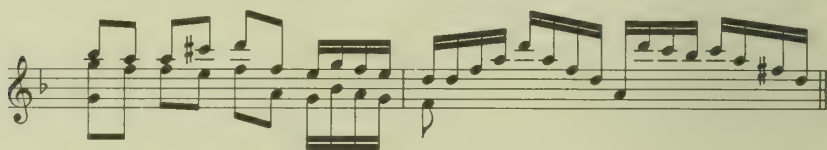
Kellner's possible reasons for making these cuts are, of course, not nearly as important as the realization that this variant, obviously corrupt, cannot be authentic Bach. The two variants that remain to be discussed, however, do appear to represent genuine early versions.

Kellner's copy of the fugue from the G-minor sonata omits only a seven-bar segment of the standard autograph version: mm. 35–41. The multiple stopping in this passage makes it one of the most problematic in the movement to perform, at first glance substantiating Moser's view that Kellner excluded material from the Chaconne because of its technical difficulty. And if one accepts David Boyden's theory that, beginning with the third beat of m. 35, this passage was probably meant to be arpeggiated because of its chordal nature, a further parallel to the Chaconne copy would seem to exist.<sup>26</sup>

Unlike the copy of the Chaconne, however, this variant gives material not found in the autograph version in the bars immediately adjacent to the omitted passages that raises little doubt about its authenticity (see example 1). The parallel sixths in m. 34 of Kellner's copy are in abundance throughout the movement, especially in the upper two voices of mm. 58–62 of the autograph, and they lead to a perfectly effective cadence (complete with parallel sixth) on the downbeat of m. 35.



Example 1. Kellner's reading for mm. 34–35 of the Fugue from the Sonata in G Minor (BWV 1001)



Still more significant are the striking similarities between the latter half of m. 34 from Kellner's copy and the last two beats of the upper voice in m. 63 from the autograph. Both of these cadential figures share the same rhythm—two eighths followed by four sixteenths—and general melodic contour. The two eighths in both involve a downward leap—in Kellner's copy a sixth, in m. 63 of the autograph a perfect fourth. Moreover, the second eighth in each passage is immediately followed by a sixteenth a second lower, and the sixteenths in both lead to a lower pitch, concluding the downward descent. It is also worth noting that both passages immediately precede episodes that are exactly ten bars long and are comprised of sixteenths exclusively.

The only real difficulty in accepting the authenticity of this variant stems from our thorough familiarity with the autograph version. A rendition of the fugue without mm. 35–41 sounds hollow, incomplete. This is particularly true with respect to mm. 38–41, where a series of eighths in parallel thirds and sixths is introduced over a tension-generating pedal point, making the passage surely one of the most unforgettable in the movement. But this, obviously, does not constitute sufficient reason to question the variant's authenticity in light of how well it works musically.




Kellner's copy of the fugue from the C-major sonata, while also evidently representing an authentic early version, is far from an accurate transmission of one. It omits mm. 188–200, mm. 256–70, and mm. 277–86, but in each instance presents material not found in the autograph, just as in the variant of the G-minor fugue. The excluded segments are all clearly derived from material included in the variant and are not among the movement's most technically challenging.

The passage beginning with m. 186 in Kellner's copy is plainly corrupt since it provides only two beats for m. 187 (see figure 9, first page, sixth system, last bar). The subsequent bar, which leads directly to one identical to m. 201, does not appear in the autograph. Evidently Kellner

glanced from the second beat of m. 187 to the downbeat of this bar, its first two beats being identical to the last two of m. 187.

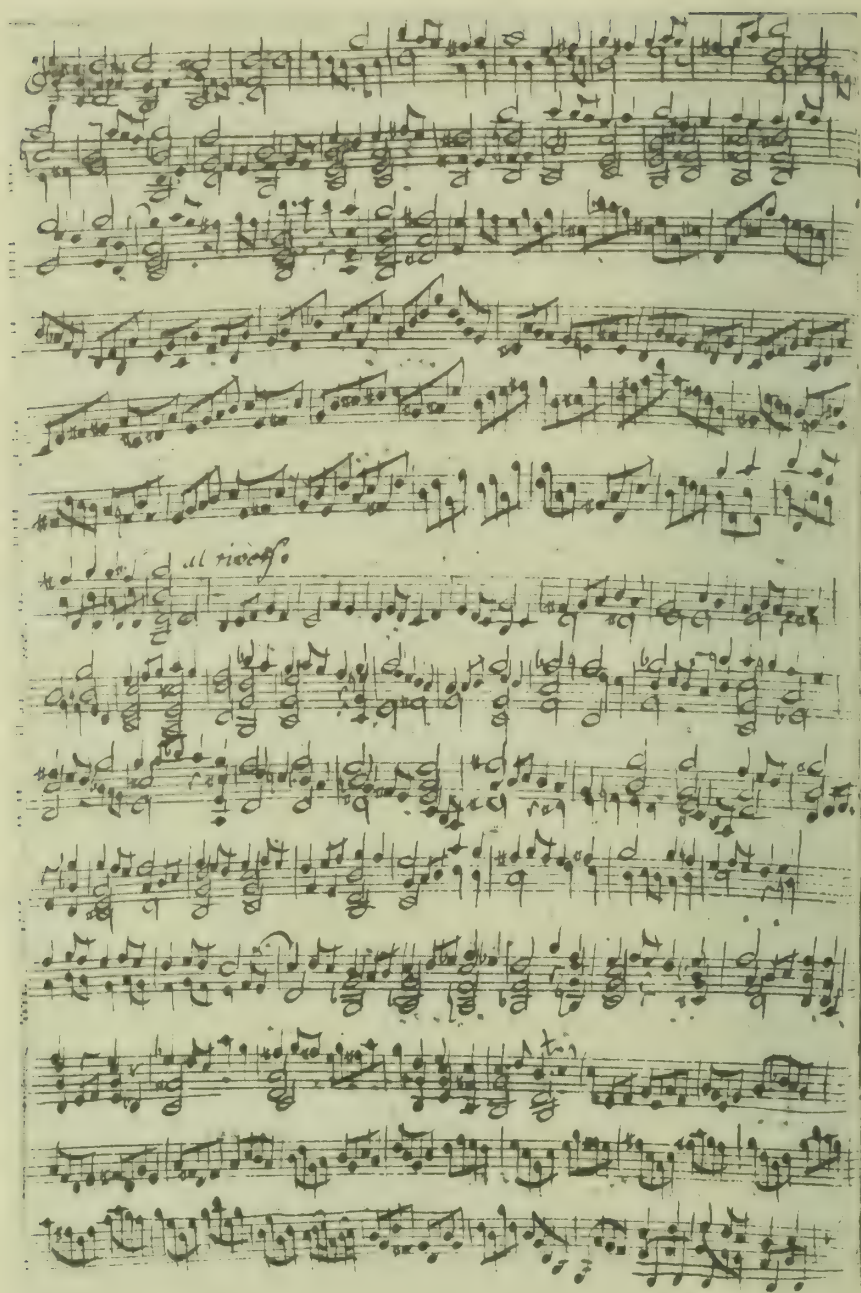
A later, analogous passage from Kellner's copy, which corresponds to mm. 273–88 of the autograph, provides a good clue as to the amount of missing material. This is the five-bar passage in figure 9, beginning with the last half of the penultimate bar of the first page and extending through the top system of the second page. It states the fugue subject once and concludes with cadential material. The last beat of the bar corresponding to m. 276 and the downbeat of that corresponding to m. 287 differ from the autograph. Although the cadence in Kellner's copy sounds premature because of our acquaintance with the autograph version, there is little in the reading that arouses suspicions concerning its authenticity.

In the autograph these two passages are both fifteen measures long, in addition to using virtually the same material. It would not be illogical to assume that they were the same length in the early version too and that, consequently, two-and-one-half bars are missing between the sixth and seventh systems of the first page of figure 9. This reasoning leads to the conclusion that Bach expanded both passages by ten bars when he prepared the autograph version.

A few observations on the last system of the first page of figure 9 should also be offered. It begins with two bars identical to mm. 254–55 and then proceeds directly to a bar not found in the autograph that, in turn, leads to a bar identical to m. 271. The bar unique to Kellner's copy uses a figure that appears five times in the autograph (see the   figure in mm. 43, 79, 81, 83, 331), and in each case, as here, is immediately preceded by four eighths or a  motive. Considering the uncontrived manner of this passage, plus its motivic derivation, one is hard-pressed to point to any musical shortcomings of the reading.

One feature of Kellner's copy, though, does arouse suspicion. Beginning on the third beat of m. 288, Bach repeats the opening bars of the movement as far as the downbeat of m. 65, and in the autograph he writes out all the notes of the repeat instead of using a *da capo* indication. But Kellner writes out only the first half note of the restatement and in the bar corresponding to m. 289 writes "*Da Capo*" (see figure 9, second page, top system). If the fugue involved a literal repeat from m. 289 until the end Kellner's *da capo* inscription would barely matter, but mm. 289–96 are in no way a literal restatement of mm. 1–8. Bach adds counterpoint to the first two statements of the subject, beginning with the third beat of



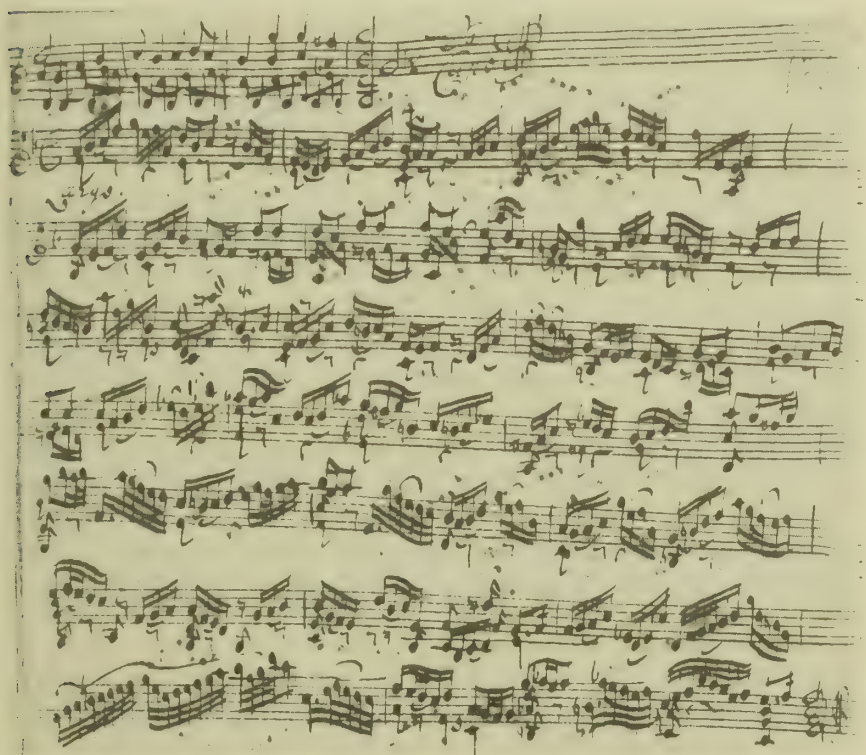


m. 289 and extending to the second beat of m. 296, from which point until m. 353 the repeat is note for note; only the final chord differs.

This discrepancy between Kellner's copy and the autograph led Braunlich to maintain that Bach originally conceived this movement as containing a literal *da capo* and that he added counterpoint to the first several bars of the restatement only when he prepared the autograph version.<sup>27</sup> While this theory seems sensible enough on the surface, a more careful examination of Kellner's copy leads to a different conclusion.

In the direct (or *custos*) immediately prior to his "Da Capo," Kellner shows that the repeat begins on a'; yet there is no *segno* on the downbeat

Figure 9. Kellner's copy of the Fugue from the Sonata in C Major (BWV 1005), dated 3 July 1726: handwriting phase 1, late-Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. Ms. Bach P 804/22, ff. 7<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>r</sup>



of m. 1, nor is there a fermata on the downbeat of m. 66, indicating the conclusion of the movement. But both of these omissions, suspicious as they are, could be explained as copying oversights.

The half rest that appears directly beneath the direct, though, clearly belongs only in m. 289 and strongly suggests that the da capo restatement of the early version was identical to that in the autograph: neither in Kellner's copy nor in the autograph does a rest appear in m. 1. It is also significant that in Kellner's copy the rest is obviously intended for the lower voice, occupying the lowest space of the system, just as it does in m. 289 of the autograph.

Evidently Kellner realized that the movement was a da capo fugue immediately after notating the rest. It follows that he must have also realized that the repeat was not literal but decided to spare himself the trouble of writing it out since only a short passage differed. What is puzzling is why he did not copy out the repeat until the third beat of the bar corresponding to m. 296 and then provide the da capo indication for the material which is a note-for-note restatement. Lack of space was no problem because Kellner's "Da Capo" appears on the top system of a page. Copying music is more or less a mechanical process, and I may be assuming more discernment on the part of a scribe than is normally done, but how else can the half rest be explained?

To judge from the surviving evidence Bach revised the C-major and G-minor fugues by interpolating passages that have quite a bit in common. Mm. 38–41 of the G-minor fugue and mm. 188–200 and mm. 277–86 of the C-major fugue play a crucial structural role in these movements and they achieve this status through very similar means. All three passages involve extensive pedal points that lead to major cadences, cadences that in each instance are dramatically delayed by repetition or sequence in the upper voices. It seems that Bach also changed the meter of both movements from common to cut time.<sup>28</sup> These similarities imply that the fugues may have been revised at around the same time. Regrettably, it is impossible to determine when these revisions might have been made. The autograph supplies only a *terminus post quem* non of 1720.

CHAPTER IV  
KELLNER AS COPYIST AND  
TRANSCRIBER? A LOOK AT  
THREE ORGAN  
ARRANGEMENTS

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The notion that Kellner copied Bach's unaccompanied string music to arrange it for key-

board is purely abstract for there is no tangible evidence of any such endeavor. Suppose for a moment, though, that a Kellner-circle source did preserve a keyboard transcription of one of these works. Only if the source attributed the transcription to someone besides Kellner, or if there were some other compelling evidence to the contrary, would one be reluctant to propose him as the transcriber—especially if the manuscript were in Kellner's hand and the transcription existed in no other source. Even if Kellner failed to designate himself as the transcriber, a source like this—regardless of whether or not it bore signs of the transcription process—could only bolster immeasurably the case for Kellner's authorship.

There is a manuscript in Kellner's hand (P 804/12) that matches this description, except that it contains an arrangement of a movement from what is evidently a lost Bach trio sonata. Further traces of this lost work are found in two other organ arrangements whose only sources are closely linked to Kellner's Bach copies. These transcriptions, only one of which is listed in the BWV (BWV 1027a), represent versions of the first, second, and fourth movements of the work-complex that includes two of Bach's most familiar chamber pieces: the Sonata in G Major for Viola da gamba and Obbligato Harpsichord (BWV 1027) and the Sonata in G Major for Two Flutes and Continuo (BWV 1039). (These two works are different versions of the same composition.) Scholars have demonstrated that BWV 1027 and BWV 1039 must be derived from a lost composition. But because only one of the organ transcriptions—BWV 1027a—has been studied in



any detail, important clues about the lost original have thus far been overlooked.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, no one has yet attempted to determine who might have prepared the two transcriptions not listed in the BWV. A detailed investigation of all three can substantially improve our picture of the lost original and allow plausible arguments to be made regarding their authorship.

Any discussion of the organ transcriptions must begin by considering the relationship between BWV 1027 and BWV 1039 and addressing the question of an original version. It would be helpful to start by summarizing the source situation. Apparently the only pre-1750 source for BWV 1039 is St 431 (DSB), a set of parts prepared by two anonymous scribes and whose watermark suggests a date of 1735–45.<sup>2</sup> The scribe for the flute parts may also be responsible for the entry of “Gib dich zufrieden und sei stille” (BWV 510) in the second *Clavierbüchlein* for Anna Magdalena; the copyist of the continuo part, who appears in the Bach sources only in this instance, displays a hand very similar to Bach’s.<sup>3</sup> It is thus possible that both copyists were members of Bach’s immediate circle. The principal source for BWV 1027—P 226/2 (DSB)—is an autograph fair copy that, according to the most recent research, dates from around 1742.<sup>4</sup>

Traditionally, scholars have held that BWV 1039 represents an original version from which BWV 1027 was adapted, an understandable view in that BWV 1027 bears the earmarks of a revised version.<sup>5</sup> It contains considerably more ornaments and articulation markings and its left-hand harpsichord part, with its higher proportion of small note values (eighths and sixteenths), appears to be an embellished rendition of BWV 1039’s continuo. From what is known about Bach’s compositional procedures it is far more likely that he would have added, rather than removed, ornamentation and articulation indications during the course of a revision (or, in this case, a transcription-revision).

This notion met with little resistance until Ulrich Siegele, in the late 1950s, proposed that the original is neither BWV 1039 nor BWV 1027 but a lost sonata in B-flat major for two recorders and continuo.<sup>6</sup> Three notes in BWV 1039’s continuo are lower than C and Siegele took these unusually low pitches as the first sign that the tonality of the original was higher than G major. He then went on to contend that St 431 was copied from a source in B-flat major, citing one instance in the continuo part (second movement, m. 103, last note) where a pitch is given a third too high, and another in the second flute part (first movement, m. 17) where a sharp on *f*’ is canceled by a flat. Since the note would have been flatted in B-flat



major (it would have been an a<sup>''</sup>), Siegele reasoned that the scribe inadvertently copied the flat from his exemplar on the second f<sup>''</sup>, instead of changing it to a natural as he did in every other instance.

A transposition from B-flat to G major, Siegele realized, would have been greatly expedited if the transposition were also from French violin clef (a G clef on the bottom line) to treble clef, the clef used for the flute parts of st 431. This sort of transposition requires only a change of clefs; the position of the notes themselves is unaffected. Two factors led Siegele to his instrumentation: Bach used the French violin clef almost exclusively for the recorder; and over half the notes of the flute parts of BWV 1039 lie in the octave d'—the lowest pitch on the eighteenth-century flute—to d<sup>''</sup>, which Siegele claimed (for reasons unstated) to be a far more awkward range on the flute than the octave f'—the lowest pitch on the alto recorder—to f<sup>''</sup> is on the recorder.<sup>7</sup> Siegele believed that the st 431 copyists did not simply transpose the recorder sonata but that they altered its musical substance as well, concluding that BWV 1039 is not an authentic Bach work but a transcription by two of his pupils. This, he argued, would also explain its odd figured bass.<sup>8</sup>

Siegele did not question the authenticity of BWV 1027, which he claimed to have been transcribed directly from the lost recorder sonata. He was skeptical of a direct relationship between BWV 1039 and BWV 1027, despite their common tonality, because of such important compositional differences between the two as the octave discrepancies in the bass parts.<sup>9</sup> Apparently aware only of the organ transcription of the fourth movement (BWV 1027a), he believed it to have been transcribed by someone other than Bach (due to some glaring structural defects) from BWV 1039, as the organ transcription has more in common with BWV 1039 than BWV 1027.

In an article published eight years later Hans Eppstein also argued that the original is lost, but he believed it to be a sonata for two violins and continuo in G major.<sup>10</sup> He also mentioned the low tessitura of the flute parts and pointed out passages that are modified apparently to avoid notes lower than d', as just mentioned, the lowest pitch on the eighteenth-century flute.<sup>11</sup> But he demonstrated as well that all of these passages would have fallen within the violin's compass without any alteration and he cited instances in BWV 1027 and the organ transcriptions of the first and fourth movements where they appear to be preserved in their original state. Eppstein also noted that there are other passages in BWV 1027 that are altered exactly as they are in BWV 1039. Since such

modifications are unnecessary with the instrumentation of BWV 1027, he contended that Bach must have adapted it from BWV 1039. He concluded, consequently, that BWV 1039 is an authentic Bach work. To account for those instances where BWV 1027 seems to preserve passages in their original state that are altered in BWV 1039, Eppstein postulated that Bach occasionally drew from the lost violin sonata, even though the only source of the work available to him at the time was his memory of it.

Although Eppstein considered BWV 1039 an authentic Bach arrangement of the lost violin sonata, he maintained that its figured bass (which, among other things, contains a seventh chord at the very conclusion of the third movement) could hardly have been fashioned by him. He made no comment on whether Bach might have prepared the organ transcriptions, but he allowed that at least those of the outer two movements may be somehow related to the violin sonata since they appear to render passages in their original form that are altered in BWV 1039 and BWV 1027. (Although he was aware of all three organ transcriptions, he evidently had access to only these two.)

Eppstein's theories on the various aspects of this work-complex are the most cogent on all counts. There is really no evidence whatever against Bach's authorship of BWV 1039, save its figured bass, primarily because st 431 shows no signs of being the working score for a transcription.<sup>12</sup> The notation of a pitch a third too high or too low is perhaps the most common copying mistake of all, and numerous Bach works that in no way can represent transposed versions are transmitted in eighteenth-century manuscripts that cancel sharps with flats as well as naturals—both common techniques in Germany at this time.<sup>13</sup> The low continuo notes clearly do not suggest that BWV 1039 was transposed from a higher key, nor is there any evidence of a transposition in the sources for BWV 1027 or the organ transcriptions.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, the fact alone that all the surviving versions of the work-complex are in G major would seem to imply that key as the tonality of the original. Concerning instrumentation, the modifications made in BWV 1039 to accommodate the flute's range constitute the strongest evidence in Eppstein's favor. That the overwhelmingly predominant scoring for trio sonatas in the baroque was two violins does not hurt his case either.

Eppstein also appears to have been on the right track with the organ transcriptions. They obviously *are* transcriptions (numerous passages in all three are altered in ways that make this a certainty) and it seems impossible that they were arranged from either BWV 1039 or BWV 1027.

Their readings generally correspond to those of BWV 1039 instead of the embellished readings from BWV 1027. But they all appear to preserve passages in their original state that are altered in BWV 1039 and BWV 1027. It would seem, then, that the only logical conclusion to be drawn is that all three were arranged either directly or indirectly—it is possible that the fourth-movement transcription is an arrangement of another (lost) organ-trio transcription—from the lost original, the same work that evidently served as the model for BWV 1039.

At first glance the organ transcriptions imply that this lost original was scored for violin, gamba, and continuo, for their middle voices are generally in the same octave as the gamba part of BWV 1027 rather than Flute 2 of BWV 1039. Consider, however, the impracticality of transcribing Eppstein's violin sonata for two manuals and pedals without transposing the second violin part down an octave: the player's hands would be crossed for prolonged periods, posing formidable technical difficulties indeed, especially in the fast second- and fourth-movement transcriptions, which are hard enough to play with the hands an octave apart. The only reasonable option would have been to transpose the second violin part down an octave and, considering all the evidence that supports Eppstein's hypothesis, this is precisely how these organ transcriptions appear to have been made. The ensuing discussion of the organ transcriptions, then, proceeds from the premise that the original version of BWV 1039/1027 is a lost sonata in G major for two violins and continuo, and that BWV 1039 was arranged from this work by Bach himself.

Each organ transcription survives in just one source. Kellner's copy of the first-movement transcription in P 804/12, prepared evidently after 1730, is a bifolio: f. 1<sup>r</sup>, which serves as the title page, bears the inscription *Trio in G $\sharp$ . / Adagio*; ff. 1<sup>v</sup> and 2<sup>r</sup> contain musical text; and f. 2<sup>v</sup> is blank (see figure 10). At the end of f. 2<sup>r</sup> Kellner writes "Sequi allegro," surely meaning that he intended for a transcription of the second movement to follow.

There is only one instance where this transcription seems to preserve a passage in its original state that is altered in BWV 1039 and BWV 1027.<sup>15</sup> Beginning on the tenth beat of m. 6 in Flute 1 of BWV 1039, and the seventh and tenth beats of m. 18 of Flutes 1 and 2, respectively, a figure is presented which commences with a syncopated octave leap. This figure is also stated by Flute 2 in m. 6 but the octave leap is replaced with repeated notes, apparently to accommodate the flute's range (see example 2).<sup>16</sup> Flute 2 seems to have been transposed up an octave in mm. 4–6



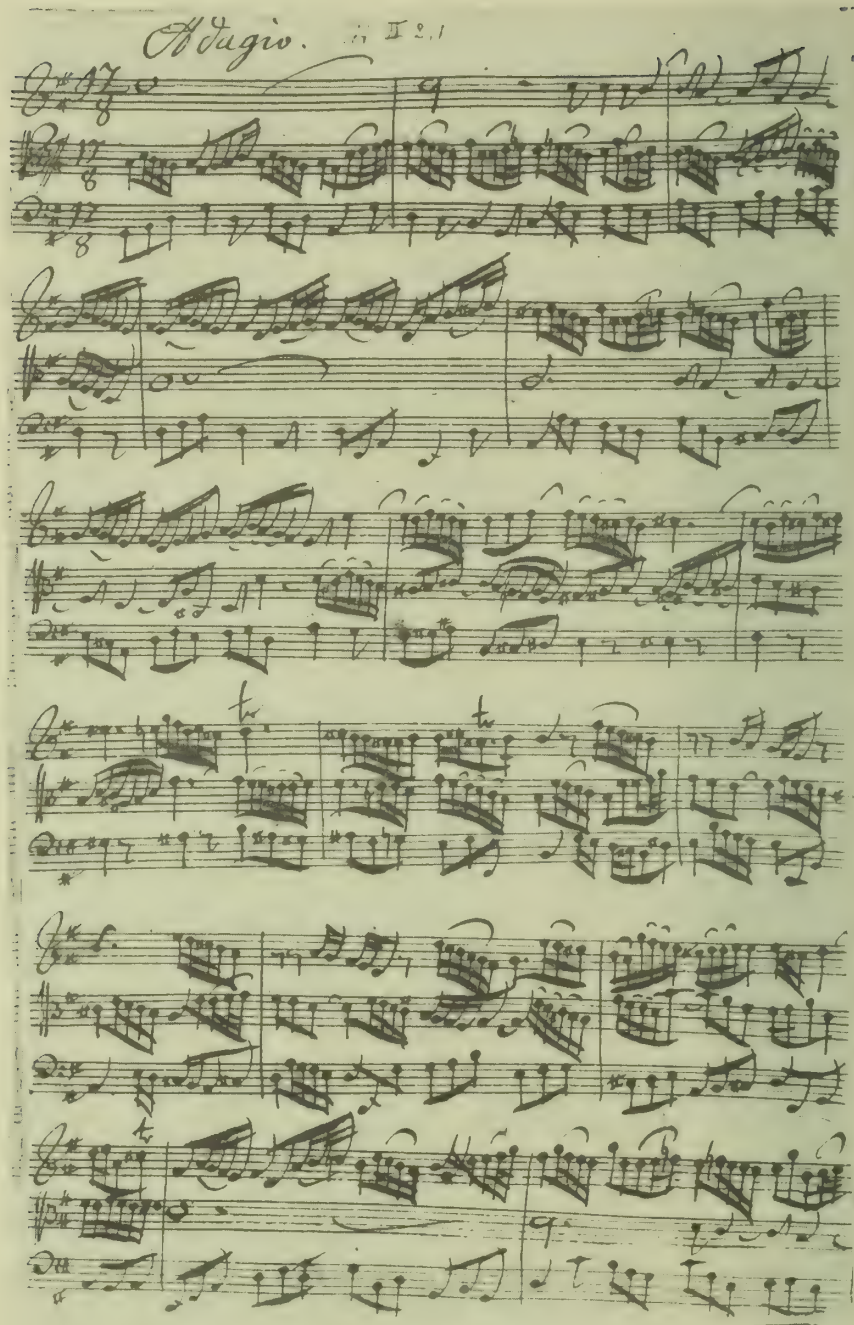


Figure 10. Kellner's copy of the organ transcription of the first movement: hand-



Handwritten musical score for three organ arrangements. The score consists of six systems, each with three staves. The notation is complex, featuring various musical symbols including clefs, key signatures, time signatures, and complex rhythmic patterns. The final system includes the instruction "Finis allegro." written in cursive.

## Example 2

m. 3, proposed reading in original (Vn. 2)

m. 3, organ transcription

m. 3, BWV 1039/1 (Fl. 2)

m. 3, BWV 1027/1 (Gamba)

to avoid the  $c\sharp'$  which Violin 2 of the original played on the sixth beat of m. 6. Mm. 16–18 of Flute 1 represent an analogous spot where the transposition was unnecessary. (A similar alteration was made in the gamba part of BWV 1027.) In the middle voice of the organ transcription, however, the interval between the last note of m. 3 and the first note of m. 4 is only a perfect fifth, as compared to a twelfth in BWV 1039 and BWV 1027. As a result, the octave leap in m. 6 is maintained.

This issue aside, the organ transcription ought to be discussed in its own right. Its most interesting aspect is how the continuo of the original was adapted as a pedal part. While the range of the continuo was  $BB-d'$  (assuming that it looked no different from that of BWV 1039), the transcriber's pedalboard evidently had only the standard two-octave compass of  $C-c'$ : all notes lower than  $C$  and higher than  $c'$  are avoided.<sup>17</sup> This discrepancy posed difficulties that the transcriber was able to only partially resolve. The three-bar figure that accompanies the principal theme (see mm. 1–3, 4–6, 13–15, 16–18) was inherently problematic in this regard since it frequently ascends to  $d'$  (see example 3). Except in the first half of m. 13, where a modulation occurs, the statements of the figure in BWV 1039 and BWV 1027 are virtually identical. But in the organ transcription it appears in no less than four different versions, owing more to the

transcriber's inconsistency, however, than to the limitations of the pedal range.

This would seem to provide a clue as to the transcription's authorship, for it is most unlikely that Bach would have presented the figure so inconsistently (and so carelessly it seems) while stating it with such consistency in other versions of the movement. One does not need to look beyond its only source for another candidate, for the arrow points only in Kellner's direction. First and most important, there is the considerable evidence bearing on Kellner's interest in keyboard transcription which was outlined earlier in conjunction with his copy of the violin works. What was not pointed out then was that, along with concerto arrangements, organ-trio transcriptions seem to have been particular favorites within the Kellner circle.

Kellner's interest in the organ trio as a genre—and what is meant by "organ trio" is a three-voice work for two manuals and pedal—is attested to by the two of his own composition (Trios in D Major and G Major) that have survived.<sup>18</sup> The fact that Wechmar copied three of Bach's trio sonatas for organ (BWV 525–30) suggests that Kellner knew these works too. Apparently in only four cases is there an extant manuscript exemplar for one of Wechmar's Bach copies and in each instance it is a Kellner copy, implying that Wechmar may have copied the trio sonatas from a lost Kellner exemplar.

Kellner's interest in organ-trio transcriptions would seem to be documented by three such works whose only sources stem from the Kellner circle: a transcription of the *Sinfonia* in D Minor (BWV 790)—transposed down a third to B minor obviously to avoid pedal notes higher than d'—which survives in a Frischmuth copy (later owned by Wechmar);<sup>19</sup> a transcription of a trio sonata in D major from Telemann's *Six Trio* (1718) that survives in a Wechmar copy (ms. 1);<sup>20</sup> and a transcription of "Trio 9" from Telemann's *Essercizii Musici* (1739–40)—transposed down a second to D major clearly for the same reason as the Bach transcription—that was owned by Wechmar (ms. 3).<sup>21</sup> Surely it is reasonable to surmise that all three are products of the Kellner circle, regardless of who (Frischmuth, Wechmar, or Kellner?) the individual transcribers are.

There is also cause to view Kellner's copy of the first-movement transcription as the working score for his own arrangement. Preparing an organ transcription of the first movement of the lost violin sonata would have been a fairly straightforward task as far as the obbligato parts

## Example 3

m. 1, BWV 1039/1 (Continuo)

m. 1, organ transcription

m. 4, organ transcription

m. 13, organ transcription

m. 16, organ transcription

are concerned. Kellner would have needed only to copy Violin 1 note for note and transpose Violin 2 down an octave. (Hence, there is no reason to doubt that he was transcribing as he copied merely because of the neat appearance of his obbligato voices.) The only correction in either obbligato voice occurs at the very beginning of the score where a treble clef is changed to an alto clef in the middle staff. If Kellner was transcribing from a source with two violin parts (both of which, of course, would have been notated in treble clef), he could have easily copied down the treble clef either inadvertently or because he had not yet realized that Violin 2 would have to be transposed down an octave.

Fortunately the pedal part is far more suggestive of a working score, for the passages shown in example 3 imply that Kellner was constantly experimenting with ways of transferring the continuo figure discussed above as he prepared the manuscript. Noteworthy too, they form an evolutionary chain of sorts, adhering ever more closely to the continuo of



BWV 1039 as the transcription progresses. Kellner's primary consideration at the outset seems to have been to modify the figure so that it could be played without difficulty on a pedalboard (note the substitution of quarters for eighths), while his main concern from m. 5 on evidently was to produce a faithful rendition of his model.

The source for the second-movement transcription, P 288/4, seems to have been prepared at some point during the second half of the eighteenth century by an anonymous scribe who appears in the Bach sources only in this instance.<sup>22</sup> It consists of a bifolio, all four pages of which are taken up by musical text. F. 1<sup>r</sup> contains the title: *Trio ex G dur.*—J. S. Bach.

The organ transcription differs from BWV 1039 and BWV 1027 in a number of interesting ways. To begin with, there seem to be two instances where it preserves passages in their original state that are altered in the other versions of the movement. In all three versions mm. 22–28 are permeated by a sixteenth-note motive distinguished by an arpeggiated descending seventh. But in the statement in BWV 1039 by Flute 2 beginning on the third beat of m. 27 the descending seventh is replaced by an ascending perfect fourth (see example 4). A b' instead of a b is given on the downbeat of m. 28, presumably because a flute could not have played the latter. The same alteration occurs in Flute 2 on the downbeat of m. 106 with c' being substituted for c', but this measure is not included in the organ transcription. This change interestingly resulted in parallel fifths between Flute 2 and the continuo (note the progression from f# and B at the conclusion of m. 27 to b' and e on the downbeat of m. 28). (An analogous passage where the substitution was unnecessary is Flute 1, mm. 58–59.) The first note of the middle voice of the organ transcription in m. 27 is B, apparently reflecting the b of Violin 2 of the original. BWV 1027 agrees with the organ transcription here as far as the B is concerned; what is unexplainable is the E that follows. Obviously a violin could not have played e and one assumes that the original read b-e' here. Perhaps the copyist or transcriber wrote the note an octave too low.

The second instance also involves this descending-seventh motive. In mm. 57–62 Flute 2 was again presumably transposed up an octave, beginning with the first note of m. 57, to avoid b and c# (see example 5). This transposition was unnecessary in Flute 1 at mm. 26–31 and mm. 104–5. Flute 2 returns to the correct octave in m. 63 by descending to c#" rather than ascending to c#". The organ transcription seems to reflect the original by beginning on B in m. 57. (At this point BWV 1027 agrees with BWV 1039.)

Example 4

m. 27, proposed reading in original (Vn. 2)

m. 27, organ transcription

m. 27, BWV 1039/2 (Fl. 2)

m. 27, BWV 1027/2 (Gamba)

Example 5

m. 56, proposed reading in original (Vn. 2) m. 62


m. 56, organ transcription m. 62

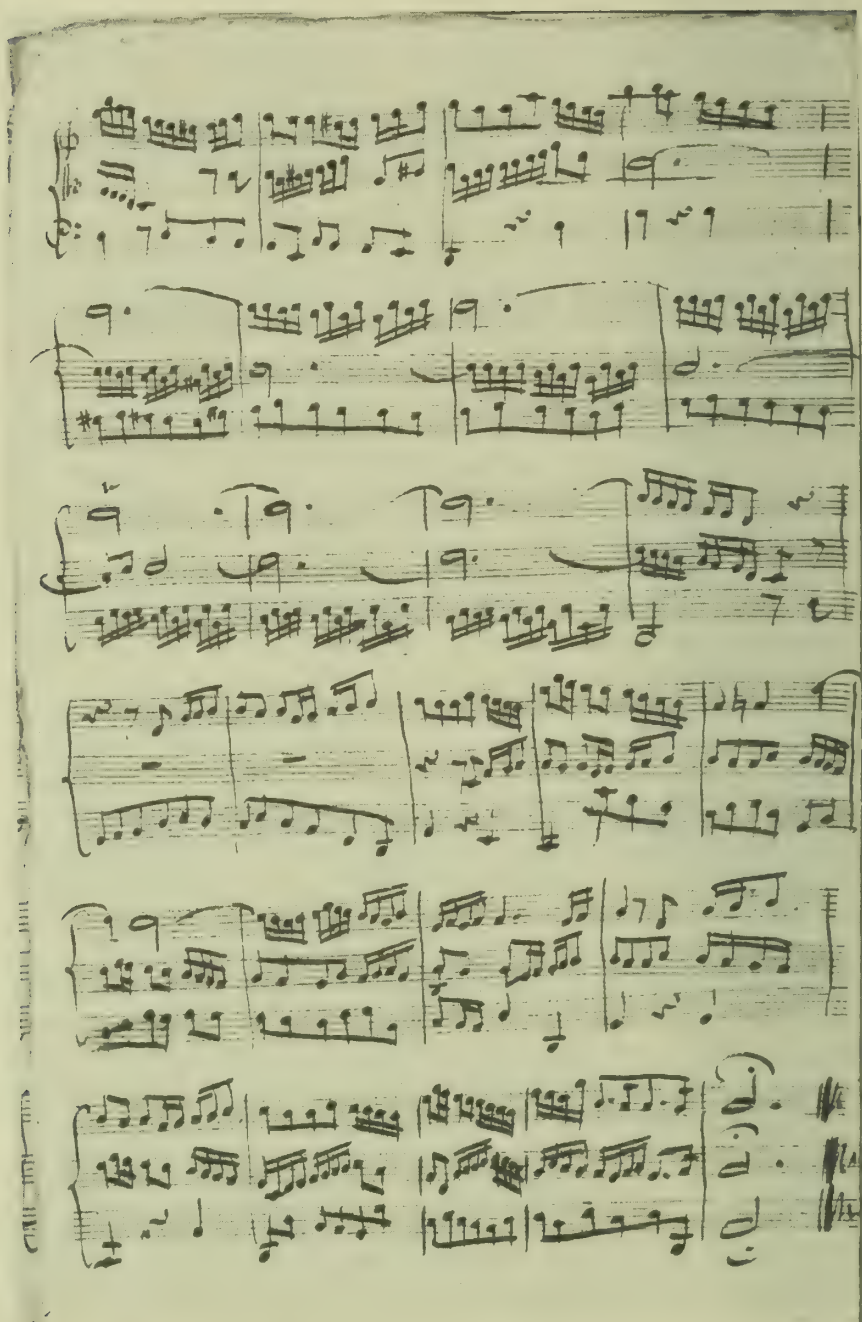
m. 56, BWV 1039/2 (Fl. 2) m. 62

m. 56, BWV 1027/2 (Gamba) m. 62


It is significant as well that the organ transcription contains six fewer measures than BWV 1039/1027: mm. 100–106 and the first beat of m. 107 of BWV 1039/1027 are missing from the organ transcription; m. 100 and the first beat of m. 101 of the organ transcription, conversely, are comprised in part of material not found in either BWV 1039 or BWV 1027 (see figure 11).

All indications are that the transcriber excised the missing measures and composed a transitional passage in their place. For instance, it is odd that in mm. 96–104 the middle voice presents two statements of the subject at the same pitch level without any intervening material whatever (see figure 11, last three systems). This happens nowhere else in any of the three versions of this movement.<sup>23</sup> (Actually, no Bach fugue comes to mind that employs this device.) The statements themselves are also anomalous. The first one concludes with three eighths (see the first three notes of m. 100); the second one starts on the wrong pitch (a instead of d), adds a sixteenth to the end of the next beat, and sounds two notes simultaneously on the beat immediately following. No other statements in the organ transcription vary the subject by these means and the same is true for all the statements in BWV 1039 and BWV 1027.

The transcriber's possible motives for omitting mm. 100–106 of the violin sonata are by no means clear. Assuming that they differed from BWV 1039 only on the downbeat of m. 106, where Violin 2 presumably played c', they would not have been particularly difficult to incorporate. (And it is worth noting here that this same seven-bar passage had already been transcribed in mm. 22–28 and mm. 53–59.) One can more easily speculate about why the statements in mm. 96–104 were modified as they were. It would appear that two of the modifications in m. 100 were made to fit the middle voice to the pedal part. The only plausible reason for concluding the first statement with descending eighths instead of the descending  motive used throughout the movement would have been to avoid an e/f# dissonance on the second half of the first beat. Likewise, what other reason than maintaining this motion in parallel thirds could the transcriber have had for starting the second statement on a instead of d? The implication, of course, is that the pedal line of m. 100 was the first of the two to be composed. The alterations on the third beat of m. 100 and the downbeat of m. 101 could be explained by postulating that the transcriber realized the monotonous effect inherent in back-to-back statements at the same pitch level and that he embellished the opening beats of the second statement for variety's sake.





The organ transcription also differs from BWV 1039/1027 at mm. 90–93 (see example 6). Whereas the obbligato parts of the organ transcription use tied notes in mm. 90–92, those of BWV 1039 and BWV 1027 employ a figure borrowed from their bass lines at mm. 22–24: . The reading in the organ transcription, to be sure, is unimaginative when compared to that in BWV 1039/1027. But there really is no cause to doubt that it mirrors the lost violin sonata.

In fact, as shown in example 7, the reading shares some traits with a passage from the “Thema fugatum” of the Passacaglia in C Minor (BWV 582): 3/4 time; three-voice texture; bass parts that contain sequentially descending sixteenthths; and two upper voices comprised chiefly of tied dotted half-notes. In addition, both supply these half-notes with trills, probably meant to be employed for the duration of the passage in all three instances. (In this regard it is possible that the scribe of the organ transcription omitted a trill on e’; if so, a further parallel exists.) They also play similar structural roles within their respective movements insofar as the “Thema fugatum” can be considered a movement. Both conclude with episodes consisting of constant sixteenth-note motion in every measure; more importantly, these episodes appear near the end of the movements and are immediately followed by tonic statements of subjects that have recapitulation-like effects.

Mm. 90–92 are the only bars in BWV 1039 in which the continuo is assigned nothing but sixteenthths, the smallest note value in the part, implying that the transcriber simplified the violin parts in order to devote his full attention to playing the unmodified continuo. Despite its rapid motion, though, this passage could not be more idiomatically suited to the pedalboard (it can be played throughout with alternating feet that are never more than a seventh apart). Several of the eighth-note passages, which involve wide, awkward leaps a good deal of the time, are far more difficult to perform. The organ transcription then would seem to reveal that Bach revised mm. 90–93 of the second movement of the violin sonata when he prepared BWV 1039. Evidently this was the only alteration in the entire composition not made out of concern for the flute’s range.

Whoever prepared the organ transcription was faced with two fundamental problems in adapting the continuo. His pedalboard must have

Figure 11. Copy by an anonymous scribe of the organ transcription of the second movement—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 288/4, f. 2<sup>v</sup>

Example 6

m. 89, organ transcription

m. 89, BWV 1039/2

The image displays two systems of musical notation, each comparing an organ transcription with a piano transcription of the same musical passage (measure 89). The first system, labeled 'm. 89, organ transcription', features a grand staff with three staves. The top staff (treble clef) contains a melodic line with a long, flowing slur. The middle staff (bass clef) contains a bass line with a similar slur. The bottom staff (bass clef) contains a continuous eighth-note accompaniment. The second system, labeled 'm. 89, BWV 1039/2', also features a grand staff with three staves. The top staff (treble clef) contains a melodic line with a long, flowing slur. The middle staff (treble clef) contains a bass line with a similar slur. The bottom staff (bass clef) contains a continuous eighth-note accompaniment. The notation is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time.

## Example 7. Passacaglia in C Minor (BWV 582), mm. 269–71



also had a compass of C–c', whereas the range of the continuo was BB–e' (assuming again that it was identical to that of BWV 1039).<sup>24</sup> But this was a minor matter compared to the continuo's frequent sixteenth-note scalar passages, which are next to impossible to pedal at a fast tempo. The transcriber resolved this difficulty by systematically reducing chains of sixteenths to eighths while still preserving their melodic essence (clearly illustrated in the pedal part of figure 11).

The altogether admirable manner in which the continuo is transcribed in P 288/4, plus the absence of errors that might be construed as conceptual mistakes (like those in P 804/12), leads to the conclusion that the scribe was copying from an existing transcription. This transcription does not appear to be the work of J. S. Bach since it apparently represents a corruption not carried out in a particularly ingenious or successful way. The transcriber would have better disguised his cut and created a more convincing reading in m. 100 had he subordinated the pedal part to the middle voice—instead he did just the opposite—for the obvious reason that the latter carries the subject.

Several factors beyond the "Sequi allegro" at the end of his copy of the first-movement transcription (which strongly implies that he transcribed the second movement as well) suggest Kellner again as the transcriber. Both transcriptions were conceived for an instrument with a pedal compass of C–c'. More significant is that both were prepared according to the same ground plan: Violin 1 = right-hand manual; Violin 2 (transposed down an octave) = left-hand manual; and continuo (with appropriate modifications) = pedal. The apparent excision of six measures is not the least bit inconsistent with Kellner's scribal habits either.

Also in favor of Kellner's authorship is the fact that the only source is

a fascicle from p 288. p 288 and its sister volumes p 286 and p 287—they are related in that they are the only manuscripts from the extensive Sammlung Voss which contain copies by members of the Kellner circle, the members being Kellner and Anonymous 5—contain no less than eight Bach copies by anonymous scribes evidently not from Kellner's immediate circle that appear to have been prepared from extant or lost Kellner copies.<sup>25</sup> Does it not seem very likely that the scribe of the second-movement transcription was also working from a source in Kellner's hand?

The source for the fourth-movement transcription, ms. 7/3, which has been assigned to the 1730s, was copied by an anonymous scribe who worked for J. N. Mempel.<sup>26</sup> It too is a bifolio: f. 1<sup>r</sup> serves as the title page (and bears the inscription *Trio ex G. #. / 2. Clavier / et / Pedal. / di Bach // Possess: / J. N. Mempel.*); the remaining pages are taken up by musical text.

There are three instances where this transcription appears to preserve passages in their original state that are altered in BWV 1039 and BWV 1027.<sup>27</sup> This movement is another fugue whose subject contains an octave leap in its sixth measure. The statement in BWV 1039 by Flute 2 at mm. 89–97 employs repeated c''s instead, evidently having been transposed up an octave to avoid notes below d' (see example 8). The substitution of c'' for c''' enabled Flute 2 to return to the correct octave. (Both the organ transcription and BWV 1027 preserve the leap.)

A figure is introduced at m. 49 that also contains an octave leap (see example 9). But the statement by Flute 2 in mm. 51–54 again omits it; instead, the e'' in m. 51 is repeated, Flute 2 apparently having been transposed up an octave in mm. 46–51. The interval between the last note of m. 45 and the first note of m. 46 in the organ transcription is a descending second, whereas in BWV 1039 and BWV 1027 it is an ascending seventh. The repetition on e'' in m. 51 of BWV 1039 allowed Flute 2 to return to the correct octave. The organ transcription again preserves the leap.

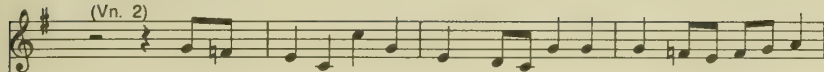
The same material transposed up an octave in mm. 46–51 was apparently transposed up an octave in Flute 2 at mm. 139–42 as well (see example 10). The interval between the last note of m. 138 and the first note of m. 139 in Flute 2 is an ascending seventh, while that between the last note of m. 127 and the first note of m. 128 in the organ transcription is a descending second. BWV 1027 again agrees with BWV 1039. (The four passages given in example 10 are totally analogous; the reason for the



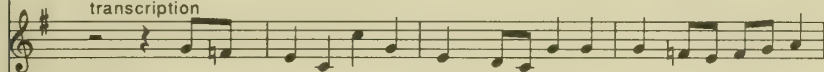
## Example 8

m. 89, proposed  
reading in original

(Vn. 2)

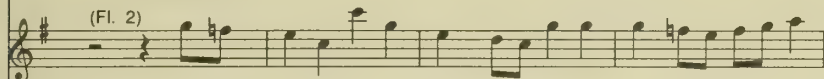


m. 89, organ  
transcription



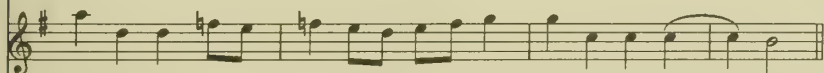
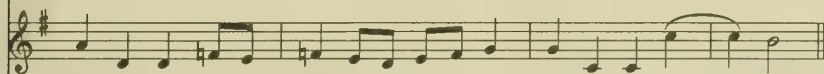
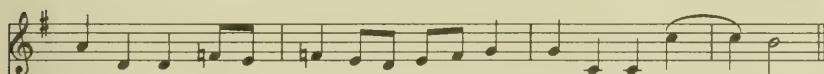
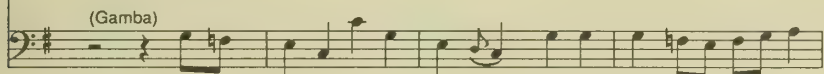
m. 89, BWV 1039/4

(Fl. 2)



m. 89, BWV 1027/4

(Gamba)



Example 9

m. 45, proposed  
reading in original  
(Vn. 2)

m. 45, organ transcription

m. 45, BWV 1039/4 (Fl. 2)

m. 45, BWV 1027/4 (Gamba)

The image displays four staves of musical notation for measure 45. The first staff, labeled 'm. 45, proposed reading in original (Vn. 2)', is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. It contains a sequence of eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff, 'm. 45, organ transcription', is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature, featuring a similar rhythmic pattern. The third staff, 'm. 45, BWV 1039/4 (Fl. 2)', is in treble clef with one sharp and 4/4 time, showing a more complex melodic line with some accidentals. The fourth staff, 'm. 45, BWV 1027/4 (Gamba)', is in bass clef with one sharp and 4/4 time, also featuring a complex melodic line. Below these four staves, there is a larger section of music consisting of four staves (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of one sharp and a 4/4 time signature, which appears to be a continuation or a different version of the same piece.

## Example 10

m. 138, proposed  
reading in original  
(Vn. 2)

m. 127, organ  
transcription

m. 138, BWV 1039/4  
(Fl. 2)

m. 138, BWV 1027/4  
(Gamba)

measure-number discrepancy is that the organ transcriber obviously omitted mm. 115–25 of his model, an excision that will be discussed shortly.)

There are notable discrepancies between this arrangement and the two already considered regarding the method of transcription. First of all, it is the only one in which Violin 2 does not appear to have been consistently transposed down an octave. In mm. 8–16 and mm. 89–97 Violin 2 was evidently incorporated at its original pitch level, presumably because it never went any higher than Violin 1 (there would have been no need to transpose the part down an octave to avoid hand crossings). In mm. 76–78 Violin 2 was apparently transposed down two octaves, even though one octave would have sufficed to keep it consistently lower than Violin 1. Mm. 30–34, where again no transposition is used, will be discussed momentarily.

Another difference between this transcription and the other two is the transfer of continuo material to the left hand rather than the feet in mm. 16–22 and mm. 97–102, resulting in hybrid statements of the subject (which begin in the left hand and then move to the pedals) in mm. 16–24 and mm. 97–105. These bars represent the only passages in BWV 1039 where the subject is stated in the continuo and it can scarcely be coinci-

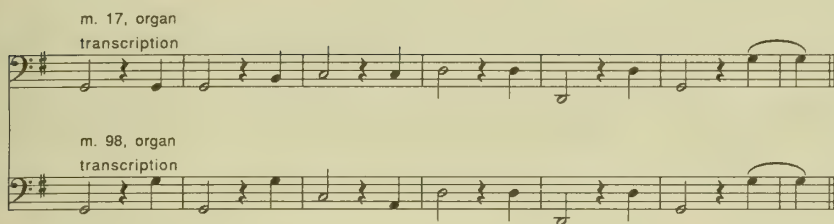
dental that only here is continuo material assigned to a manual part in the organ transcription. A sensible conclusion would be that the transcriber did not feel capable of playing the initial portion of the subject on the pedals (the section prior to the first pair of tied quarters) because of its fast eighths and awkward leaps. (The remainder of the subject moves for the most part in stepwise, half-note motion.) But this does not explain why the subject is simplified in both mm. 16–22 and mm. 97–102 of the left-hand part of the organ transcription or why the initial segment of the subject is simplified only in these two passages. All the simplifications involve the substitution of a quarter for two eighths—the most common modification made to the continuo part in adapting it to the pedals throughout the transcription (see m. 18, beat two; m. 97, beat four; m. 99, beat two; and m. 101, beat four). The only remotely plausible explanation for the simplifications would seem to be that the present transcription is actually an arrangement of another (lost) organ transcription in which the subject was assigned to the pedals in mm. 16–22 and mm. 97–102 with the quarter-note simplifications enumerated above. It would follow that the arranger of the present transcription did not care to attempt a pedal performance of the opening segment of the subject, even with the simplifications, and that he transferred both passages to a manual part without bothering to restore the missing eighths.

In any event, assigning these bars to the left hand created a void in the pedal part that the transcriber filled with material presumably of his own composition and possibly derived from mm. 44–47 and mm. 61–63 of the continuo (see example 11). Whereas the upper two parts of the organ transcription and all parts of BWV 1039 and BWV 1027 are virtually identical in mm. 17–19 and mm. 98–100, the pedal offers distinctly different readings. Beginning with the first pair of tied quarters in the subject, the transcriber opted to transfer the continuo back to the pedals (see mm. 22–24 and mm. 103–5), apparently because the tied quarters, the subsequent half note, and the tied quarters that follow pose no difficulties in being pedaled. At the first point of transfer (m. 22) the subject is passed from the left hand to the pedals without incident; in m. 103, however, it drops out altogether for three beats before being reinstated on the fourth beat.

Mm. 17–22 and mm. 98–103 of the organ transcription also differ with respect to which of the obbligato parts of the original is retained. In the first passage Violin 2 is assigned to the right hand and Violin 1 is omitted; in the second passage the situation is reversed (Violin 1 is



## Example 11



assigned to the right hand and Violin 2 is omitted). It is not clear why the transcriber chose Violin 2 over Violin 1 in mm. 17–22, but in so doing he supplied both passages with the same material for the upper obligato part (to judge from BWV 1039, mm. 17–22 of Violin 2 were essentially the same as mm. 98–103 of Violin 1).

A further discrepancy between this transcription and the other two is the inversion of the violin parts in mm. 30–34 and mm. 111–14 (see examples 12 and 13.) The transcriber evidently took this liberty because he preferred to play the eighth-note figures here—which contain more leaps than any eighth-note figures in the movement—with his right hand only. It is perhaps possible that he wrote down exactly what the original contained, but it is difficult to imagine that the original did not incorporate the invertible counterpoint that BWV 1039 and BWV 1027 make use of in mm. 26–33 and mm. 107–14. The discrepancy becomes more significant still when one realizes that in the second-movement transcription the left hand is given several passages (see mm. 26–27, 39–40, 55–56) that are at least as technically demanding as those that were apparently transferred to the right hand in the present transcription.

Mm. 30–34 deserve further comment. As a result of the inversion of the violin parts, the transcriber was evidently forced to transpose Violin 1 down an octave (this happens nowhere in the other two transcriptions either) in mm. 30–33. Consequently, it was not necessary to transpose Violin 2 down an octave here. (This transposition pattern was not followed in mm. 111–14, presumably because of the comparatively low tessitura of the Violin 1 part.) For the first two beats of m. 34 Violin 2 drops out, being replaced by filler composed by the transcriber. He appears to have preferred his two quarters (on a and e) to a half note on e or e', even though either half note would have enabled Violin 1 to

## Example 12

m. 26, BWV 1039/4

m. 26, organ transcription

proceed with little interruption (the only interruption being an octave or two-octave jump between the obbligato parts on the third beat).

That Bach prepared this transcription seems impossible. The decision to transfer continuo passages to the left hand and to invert the obbligato parts was surely made to make the transcription easier to play.

## Example 13

m. 107, BWV 1039/4

m. 107, organ transcription

m. 126

m. 115

Judging from Bach's authenticated organ trios he would not have found it necessary to make such alterations. The simplification of the continuo is executed in such a way as to also support the case against Bach's authorship. The transcriber was obviously unconcerned about consistency in this regard, as mm. 49–56 and mm. 66–81 reveal most clearly, and the

simplification is functional at best. (Example 14 illustrates the simplification technique in mm. 49–56.)

It is the unbalanced form of the organ transcription, however, that supplies the strongest evidence that Bach is not responsible for it. The formal design of the movement as it stands in BWV 1039 and BWV 1027 is symmetrically conceived as Siegele pointed out in his discussion of the organ transcription.<sup>28</sup> It is a fugue that contains four different episodes labeled A, B, C, and D in figure 12 (S designates statements of the subject). All the episodes except D are stated twice, once in the first half of the movement and once in the second half. The statements in the second half invert the obbligate parts; in the statement of A in the second half the phrase sequence is inverted as well. D, the longest episode, is presented only once, forming the centerpiece. Each half is framed by a twenty-five-bar exposition and a single statement of the subject. With C practically omitted altogether in the second half of the organ transcription the symmetric shape (as Siegele observed) is indeed destroyed.

It is, of course, conceivable that the fourth movement of the violin sonata contained just one statement of C and that when Bach prepared BWV 1039 he added a statement in the second half, realizing the symmetrical shape that would result. But certain peculiarities in the organ transcription (illustrated in example 13) strongly suggest that the transcriber knowingly excised a sizable portion of his model.

These peculiarities take several forms, the first of which involves octave transposition. The bass figure of A<sup>1</sup>, whenever it is stated in BWV 1039 and BWV 1027 and when it is stated in mm. 26–29 of the organ transcription, begins with three half notes followed by three quarters. In the first statement of A<sup>1</sup> in each of the surviving versions of the movement (mm. 26–29) the first two half notes of the bass figure are at the same pitch and the remaining notes are either a half step or (in BWV 1027) a minor sixth above or a minor third below. In the second statement (mm. 111–14) the second half note is an octave lower than the first and the remaining notes are either a half step or minor sixth above or a minor third below the second half note. Bach seems to have transposed the figure down an octave (beginning with the second half note) so that it would lie in the same low register as the first bars of C's bass line. There was no need for a transposition in mm. 26–29 since the first note of the bass line of A<sup>2</sup> is in the same low register as that of A<sup>1</sup>.


The fact that the transposition was made in the organ transcription automatically raises doubts as to its authenticity. The final note of the A<sup>1</sup>





mm. 1-25	26-33	34-41	42-48	49-58	59-65	66-81	82-106	107-114	115-126	127-134	135-142
Expo.	A <sup>1</sup> A <sup>2</sup>	B	S	C	S	D	Expo.	A <sup>2</sup> A <sup>1</sup>	C*	B	S
(25 mm.)	(8)	(8)	(7)	(10)	(7)	(16)	(25)	(8)	(12)	(8)	(8)
								(obligato parts inverted)			
BWV 1027 and 1039:						65	+	16	+	61	
Organ Transcription:						65	+	16	+	50	

\*Eleven bars of this section omitted in the organ transcription.

Figure 12. The form of the fourth movement of BWV 1027/1039

bass line in m. 114—E—is immediately followed by an a, instead of the A that BWV 1039 and BWV 1027 use. It simply does not make sense that Bach would have transposed the figure down an octave, only to return immediately to the same register in which it began. The E half note in m. 114 is even more peculiar. Although not melodically identical, the bass lines of A<sup>1</sup> and A<sup>2</sup> in BWV 1039 and BWV 1027 have the same rhythm. It is hard to see Bach replacing the ♯  of this figure with something as motivically incoherent as this half note. Another oddity is the abrupt and awkward tonal shift from A minor to G major in mm. 115–16. There is also a modulation to G major in m. 115 of BWV 1039 and BWV 1027 (the tonic cadence is arrived at a bar later) but it is followed by a circle-of-fifths progression that leads ultimately to E minor (mm. 122–23), resulting in a smooth transition to the G-major tonality of the closing bars. Again, that Bach would have modulated to G major here with little, if any, preparation seems highly unlikely. A final peculiarity is that m. 115 of the organ transcription is its only measure that is not a component of a larger unit; it merely provides an interlude between A and B.

The transcriber evidently decided to omit mm. 115–25 of the original altogether, probably because of the problems in adapting the continuo to a pedalboard.<sup>29</sup> Besides being very rapid, the continuo ascends above c' in mm. 121–22. The transcriber had already dealt with the same material in mm. 49–60—and not altogether successfully one might add (see example 14). Perhaps he did not wish to bother with it a second time. He probably substituted  for ♯  in m. 114 because a half rest gives the performer more time to prepare for the abrupt register shift in m. 115

## Example 14

m. 49, BWV 1039/4  
(Continuo)

m. 49, organ transcription

from E to a. Had the octave transposition not taken place in mm. 112–14, the three quarters could have been incorporated with no problem. It would have been impossible to proceed directly from A<sup>1</sup> to B without some type of transitional material, furnished by m. 115. Only the lower two voices of the measure seem to have been composed by the transcriber who may have derived the rhythm of the pedal voice from the continuo at m. 126; the upper obbligato part is evidently a literal transcription of Violin 1 at m. 126 (minus the tie on the first note).

The organ transcription is probably corrupt in two other sections as well. In m. 86 the middle voice employs quarter rests for beats two and three, instead of the quarters found in BWV 1039 and BWV 1027, and it gives the quarter on the first beat an octave lower than expected. This bar is a segment of a countersubject statement at mm. 82–87. Whenever this countersubject is stated in BWV 1039 and BWV 1027 it contains all four quarters, the first two of which always involve a downward octave leap (see mm. 13, 21, 86, 94, 102). Furthermore, except for the statement at mm. 82–87, the organ transcription also adheres to this formula. The curious reading in m. 86 of the organ transcription is more likely due to a copying error than to any willful tampering on the transcriber's part, perhaps as a result of copying the ♮ ♮ ♮ pattern so frequently throughout mm. 68–82.

In m. 124 of the organ transcription the middle voice contains four

quarters, whereas BWV 1039 and BWV 1027 present eighths exclusively in the analogous spot (m. 135). This bar is a unit of another countersubject that, except in m. 124 of the organ transcription, begins in canonic imitation of the subject (see mm. 41–43 and mm. 58–60 of all three surviving versions as well as mm. 134–36 of BWV 1039 and BWV 1027). While the statement of the subject in mm. 123–29 of the organ transcription and in mm. 134–40 of BWV 1039 and BWV 1027 is the only one that embellishes its second and third beats with eighth-note figuration, it does not follow that Bach would have compensated for this aberration by reducing Violin 2 to straight quarters, as the organ transcription would imply. Nor is there any reason to think that he would have eliminated the canonic interplay between the violins in this statement only. For whatever reasons—and simplifying the passage to make it easier to play is the only one that comes to mind—the transcriber evidently simplified the Violin 2 part on his own.

All of which brings us to the question of who, besides Bach, might have prepared the transcription. Kellner has to be considered as a candidate, not only because of the likelihood that he made the other two (which suggests that he may have prepared a transcription of the entire violin sonata), but also because of his ties to Mempell discussed in chapter 2 (Mempell may have been a Kellner pupil who worked regularly from Kellner's autographs and Bach copies). Moreover, this transcription was conceived for an instrument with a pedal compass of C–c', and its corrupt nature—especially the excision of several bars near the end—brings the second-movement transcription to mind, not to mention several of Kellner's Bach copies.<sup>30</sup>

Despite these factors, however, the discrepancies between the fourth-movement transcription and those of the first and second movements are sufficiently substantial to suggest that someone other than Kellner is involved—someone like Mempell or his copyist. The general carelessness with which the transcription was made implies that ms. 7/3 could represent the copyist's working score for his own transcription. Mempell's interest in the organ trio is documented by the inclusion of seven organ trios in the Mempell-Preller Collection in copies either by himself or his scribe. More significant is that at least two, and probably three, of these trios are transcriptions.<sup>31</sup> Further evidence of Mempell's interest in keyboard transcription is supplied by a copy of Handel's Op. 2, No. 1 trio sonata prepared by Mempell and his scribe and arranged for "gamba clavier" (an imitation of a "Geigenwerk") and oboe or flute.<sup>32</sup>

Whether the model for the present transcription was a lost organ transcription, a possibility mentioned above in conjunction with the transfer of continuo material to the left hand, or the lost violin sonata itself must remain open. If the model was a lost Kellner transcription, one would like to believe that it too consistently assigned Violin 1 to the right hand, Violin 2 (transposed down an octave) to the left hand, and the continuo to the pedals, and that the preparer of the surviving transcription deviated from Kellner's methodology to compensate for his relatively poor organ technique.



CHAPTER V  
KELLNER'S COPIES AS KEYS  
TO BACH CHRONOLOGY:  
OBSERVATIONS ON THREE  
KEYBOARD WORKS

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There are approximately forty Bach works whose earliest sources are Kellner-circle copies and another thirty or so for which the same source situation *may* obtain. With statistics like these it would be reasonable to assume that the chronology of the Kellner-circle sources presented in chapter 2 bears important implications for the dating of many Bach compositions. Regrettably, though, Bach appears to have written most of these works well before—years, even decades before—their respective Kellner-circle copies originated. As a consequence, the manuscript chronology would seem to shed light on composition dates only in a few instances. No one acquainted with Bach chronology should find this the least bit surprising (or disappointing). For one thing, the mere fact that so many of these pieces are for organ infers that they must be relatively early since Bach seems to have written most of his surviving organ music by the time he left Weimar in 1717.

Let us take Kellner's copy of Bach's transcription of Vivaldi's "Grosso Mogul" Concerto (BWV 594), the work's earliest source, to show the limitations of the chronological information given in chapter 2. For the first time here this manuscript has been dated and the date arrived at (1725) seems relatively secure, being supported by strong philological evidence (specifically, watermark and handwriting data). The result is the proverbial *terminus post quem non*: the work could not have originated after 1725. This new terminus is of obvious import for Bach reception history as it sheds light on this work's early dissemination in Central Germany. But since there is very compelling biographical evidence that Bach prepared the transcription over a decade earlier—specifically in 1713/14—the dat-

ing of this source is of virtually no help in dating the music.<sup>1</sup> (This is an especially representative example in that so many of Bach's solo keyboard transcriptions of concertos by other composers—all of which appear to date from 1713/14—exist in Kellner-circle copies and in that many of these manuscripts represent the earliest surviving sources for these works.) Equally typical cases involve works whose style suggests a composition date as early as, say, Bach's Arnstadt period (1703–7).<sup>2</sup>

But the manuscript chronology does hold important clues for the dating of three major Bach keyboard works. All three were copied by Kellner himself and in each instance his copy represents the earliest surviving source. We will attempt to date these works by means of a methodology that has recently achieved notable success in formulating a chronology of Bach's instrumental music, namely, the integration of textual criticism (which will entail more than just the dating of the Kellner copies), stylistic analysis, and, to a lesser degree, biographical study.<sup>3</sup> Obviously efforts to date the instrumental music can never hope to obtain the sort of conclusive results registered in research on Bach's vocal works, most of which are securely dated today thanks to the existence of numerous composing scores and original performance parts. Relying on these materials alone (and having no need to utilize the less objective disciplines of stylistic criticism and biographical investigation), two German scholars in the late 1950s arrived at a new chronology of Bach's Leipzig vocal works, a chronology that, because of its large measure of verifiability and documentary proof, has remained practically unassailable for over thirty years now.<sup>4</sup> For Bach's instrumental music, primary sources such as these are rare: nearly all of the repertory survives in manuscript copies (like those of the Kellner circle) of varying authority or, to a lesser extent, prints and autograph fair copies. It is therefore imperative that research continues along the lines of the integrated approach outlined above if we hope to make further progress in this area.

#### THE FANTASY AND FUGUE IN A MINOR (BWV 904)

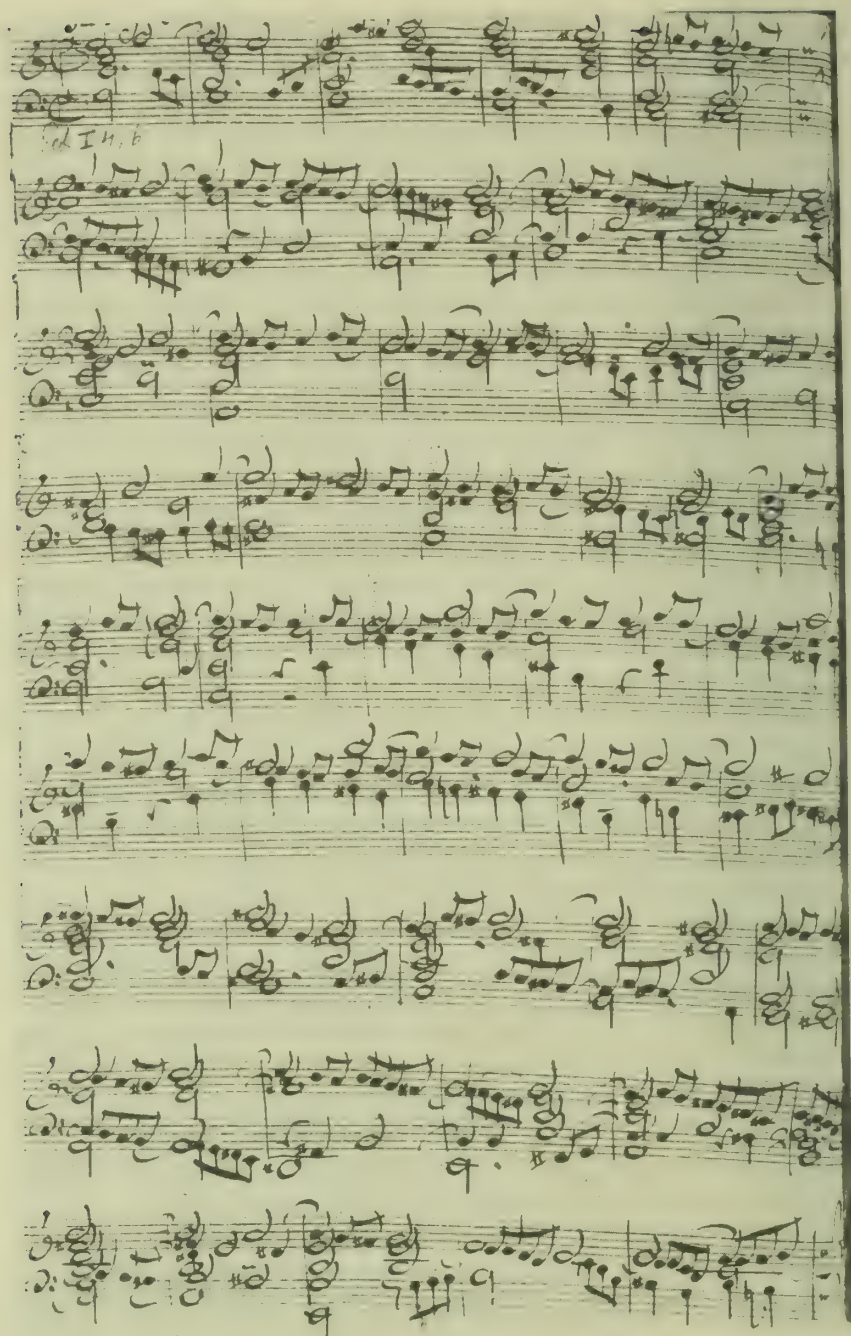
Spitta believed that Bach may have composed this work during his "first Leipzig period," rather than earlier, and based his theory solely on some very general stylistic traits.<sup>5</sup> Modern scholars have tended to follow his lead, settling arbitrarily on 1725 as the most likely year of composition.<sup>6</sup> Spitta and his followers evidently also believed that Bach originally composed the two movements as a pair.

But it seems quite clear that the fantasy and fugue originated as independent single-movement compositions that were assembled into a prelude-fugue pair (by whom is not clear) only at some later date. To begin with, most of the surviving sources transmit them as separate pieces. This applies to the earliest and presumably only pre-1750 sources, copies of both movements by Kellner in P 804/25 (fantasy) and P 288/11 (fugue), as well as to a lost copy by C. P. E. Bach, reported on in 1890 by Ernst Naumann, which may have predated the two Kellner copies (see figure 13).<sup>7</sup> (There is no autograph.) Moreover, the Kellner copies even suggest that they were originally conceived for different instruments, the fantasy for harpsichord, the fugue for organ. Kellner titles the fantasy *Fantasia in A mol. / pro Cembalo. / di / Joh: S: Bach*, unambiguously prescribing the harpsichord, but gives the fugue the title *Fuga in A mol. á 4. Voc: manualitter. [sic] / di / Johann Sebastian Bach*, that is, a fugue for manuals alone as opposed to a “Fuga . . . pedaliter,” that is, a fugue for manuals and pedals.<sup>8</sup> As Robert Marshall has recently pointed out it seems that the only logical way of interpreting “manualiter” indications in the Bach sources is to view them in conjunction with organ performance (if the term is applied to instruments lacking pedals, such as harpsichord or clavichord, it is merely redundant).<sup>9</sup>

The two sources that transmit the movements as a pair date from the nineteenth century or, in one case, possibly from the late eighteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Both seem to derive from a copy by J. C. Kittel that was destroyed during the Second World War.<sup>11</sup> Kittel was one of Bach’s pupils around 1748 to 1750 and it is therefore possible that he prepared the manuscript during his period of instruction with Bach.

Kellner’s copy of the fantasy appears to have been written out at some point after 1727 while his copy of the fugue, which belongs to an earlier stage of his hand, has been assigned to the period 1727 to 1738/40. Recent research on C. P. E. Bach’s script has given support to the long held notion that virtually all of his copies of his father’s music were made prior to 9 September 1734, the date of his matriculation as a law student at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder and the date that marks his departure from his father’s household.<sup>12</sup> There is no cause to suspect that his lost copy of the fugue was made any later than this date.

Assuming that C. P. E. Bach really was the scribe for this putative source, we have good reason to believe that by mid-1734 the fugue had been composed. Kellner’s copy supplies a *terminus post quem non* of 1740. But how much earlier than 1734–40 might Bach have written it? The only





clue provided by the sources has to do with the type of clef used to notate the right-hand staff, and it is at this juncture that we ought to consider the chronological implications of Bach's clef usage, an issue that will figure in all three works to be discussed.

To date, George Stauffer is the only scholar who has offered anything other than passing remarks on the chronological implications of Bach's clef usage in his keyboard music.<sup>13</sup> Stauffer's comments are brief and easy to summarize. In order to understand them fully it should first be mentioned that the sources for the keyboard works generally notate the music on two staves, the upper staff in soprano or treble clef, the lower staff in bass clef. Pieces that pose exceptions to the two-stave format are organ trios (which are transmitted almost without fail on three staves) and compositions that use open score (such as the *Art of Fugue* and *Musical Offering*). If unusual tessituras are involved, clefs other than soprano and treble may be used for the upper staff and clefs other than bass may be used for the lower. Stauffer describes Bach's clef usage in his earliest to latest compositions as follows:

To judge from the extant autograph material, Bach invariably used the soprano clef to notate the upper staff of his keyboard works until the late-Cöthen—early-Leipzig years, i.e. the period around 1723. From then on he began to employ the treble clef with increasing frequency. For example, the soprano clef appears throughout the autograph scores of the *Orgelbüchlein* (1714+) and the *Well-Tempered Clavier I* (1722). The treble clef, on the other hand, appears in the four *Clavierübung* prints (1726–1731, 1735, 1739, and ca. 1741–1742). Both the soprano and treble clefs are encountered in the *Klavierbüchlein für Anna Magdalena Bach* of 1722. For the most part, the initial entries in this collection are notated in the soprano clef, the later additions, in the treble clef.<sup>14</sup>

He then goes on to warn against the reliability of a chronology based solely on clefs, pointing out that Bach used the soprano clef in works written after 1723 and mentioning the possibility that a work transmitted in treble clef might be a revised version of a piece originally notated in soprano clef. He also suggests that scribes may have updated works

Figure 13. Kellner's copy of the *Fantasy in A Minor* (BWV 904/1): handwriting phase 3, late-Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. MS. Bach P 804/25, f. 1<sup>v</sup>

originally in soprano clef by transposing them into treble clef. Stauffer concludes that chronological evidence derived from clefs is to be handled with caution, but that one can feel safe in making two generalizations on the subject: (1) that works consistently transmitted in soprano clef most likely date from before about 1723; and (2) that works consistently handed down in treble clef were probably written or revised after about 1723.

As helpful and interesting as Stauffer's comments are, they are also incomplete and somewhat misleading. For example, Bach uses the treble clef in what is evidently his earliest surviving holograph, a source that contains the two organ chorales on "Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern" (BWV 739 and BWV 764), and he makes considerable use of the soprano clef after 1723, especially in the last decade or so of his life.<sup>15</sup>

Clearly the matter of Bach's clef usage as a chronological aid needs to be more thoroughly explored to test the validity of Stauffer's conclusions. Stauffer was concerned primarily with the free organ preludes and, although he makes reference to keyboard compositions and chorale-based organ pieces, he provides no remarks on chamber or orchestral works with obbligato harpsichord. In order to present a more complete picture of the issue I have listed in the appendix all of Bach's keyboard works (including concerted as well as solo compositions) that exist either in autographs or prints prepared under the composer's supervision, indicating the clef used for the right-hand staff. The pieces are given in approximately chronological order according to the dates of their sources.<sup>16</sup>

The conclusions to be drawn from the appendix are somewhat different from Stauffer's. They can be summed up as follows: (1) up to about 1720 Bach favored the soprano clef to a great degree; (2) from 1720 through 1725 soprano clef was still the norm, although the treble clef was employed with greater frequency than before; (3) from 1726 to about 1733 the treble clef was used almost exclusively; and (4) during the last fifteen or so years of his life Bach appears to have used the two clefs on a fairly equal basis.<sup>17</sup> The considerable inconsistencies in Bach's clef usage allow for only one generalization (as opposed to Stauffer's two) on the subject: works consistently transmitted in treble clef probably date from after 1725. As I hope to make clear in the following discussions, this realization can provide chronological evidence of a corroborative nature more than anything else surely worth considering.

To return to BWV 904, all of its surviving sources use the treble clef

and it appears that this was also the case with Kittel's and C. P. E. Bach's lost copies.<sup>18</sup> C. P. E. Bach must have made his copy of the fugue from a lost autograph and it is possible (if not likely in Kittel's case) that Kellner's and Kittel's copy were also prepared from holographs, considering their close personal ties to Bach. There is no evidence of clef transposition, like the notation of passages a third too high, in any of the surviving manuscripts. We must conclude, therefore, that Bach prepared copies of both movements in which he used the treble clef. The data on Bach's clef usage just presented implies that these lost autographs were prepared after 1725. This, along with the evidence on C. P. E. Bach's lost copy, allows for a proposed composition date of 1726–34 or, if one prefers not to trust Naumann (and one relies solely on Kellner's copy for a *terminus post quem non*), 1726–40.<sup>19</sup>

Obviously this is a very tentative dating: Bach *did* use the treble clef before 1726 and, more importantly, there do not appear to be any stylistic features of the fugue that would indicate that it must have been written as late as the Leipzig period. But there is apparently nothing in the fugue's style at odds with the proposed dates either. The fact that it is a double fugue that provides separate expositions for its subjects before combining them would seem to have no chronological bearing for it appears that Bach wrote such fugues relatively early and relatively late in his career. For example, it seems that the Fugue in F Major for organ (BWV 540/2), a double fugue that makes use of this same technique, was composed well before 1726.<sup>20</sup> And the technique is employed in two double fugues—the fugues in C-sharp minor and G-sharp minor—from the Well-Tempered Clavier II, a collection compiled in the late 1730s and early 1740s.

Dating the fantasy is an entirely different task since here the stylistic evidence outweighs the text-critical. It too is transmitted exclusively in the treble clef, suggesting a post-1725 origin, and its style is also suggestive of a relatively late date.

The fantasy is a straightforward example of a keyboard work based on the concerto or ritornello form. A ritornello is stated in its entirety four times while the remainder of the movement is comprised of episodes. Bach alternates ritornello statements and episodic material to create an extraordinarily symmetrical design (see figure 14).

Significantly the only other Bach keyboard work that, to my knowledge, approaches this kind of symmetry is the Prelude in C Minor (BWV 546/1), which, with its perfectly symmetrical shape, even surpasses the

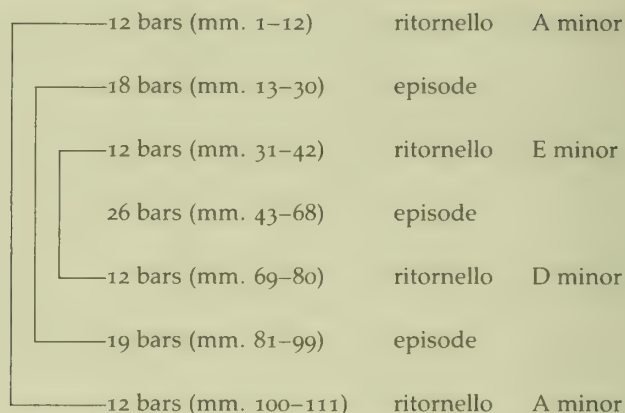


Figure 14. The form of the Fantasy in A Minor (BWV 904/1)

A-minor fantasy in this respect.<sup>21</sup> The composition begins with a complete statement of the ritornello in the tonic, followed by an episode of equal length, followed by three fragmentary statements of the ritornello (the first two in the dominant, the third in the subdominant) interspersed with episodes that total exactly twice as many bars as the first ritornello statement and episode, followed by an episode the same length as the first one, and concluding with a complete statement of the ritornello in the tonic. Thus, a numerically perfect *Bogenform* whose five partitions can be diagrammed (in terms of the number of measures they comprise):  $24 + 24 + 48 + 24 + 24$ .

The designs of these two movements are obviously not identical. To name just a few discrepancies, the prelude contains fragmentary ritornello statements, including two side-by-side statements in the dominant; all of the episodes in the prelude are fashioned out of the same material, whereas in the fantasy they are unrelated thematically; and the prelude's ritornello is twice the size of the fantasy's. But in addition to using similarly symmetrical forms, both employ the key sequence i–v–iv–i for their ritornello statements, a significant feature.

Bach makes use of the key sequence tonic–dominant–subdominant–tonic for ritornello statements in all four of his concerto-based free organ preludes assigned by Stauffer to the Leipzig period: the Prelude in B Minor (BWV 544/1), the Prelude in E Minor (BWV 548/1), the Prelude in E-flat Major (BWV 552/1) from *Clavierübung* III, and the C-minor prelude.<sup>22</sup> Stauffer notes that, while the B-minor and E-minor preludes use the



relative major for a ritornello statement prior to that in the dominant (resulting in the order i–v–III–iv–i), the other two works adhere strictly to the four-key scheme (with the C-minor prelude presenting the four keys in the minor mode and the E-flat prelude prelude giving them in the major).

These pieces divide themselves into the same pairings with respect to the harmonic structure of their ritornellos, which in all four works is closely linked to the division of the ritornellos into motivically distinct segments. The ritornellos of the B-minor and E-minor preludes consist of two main segments. In the B-minor prelude the first segment includes approximately a third of the material and concludes with a half cadence; in the E-minor prelude the first segment includes about a fourth of the material and ends with a half cadence. The second segments of both ritornellos then move through the circle of fifths, concluding with V–i cadences in the tonic. The ritornello of the E-flat prelude is also divided into two main segments but they are of the same length. After establishing the tonic, the first segment modulates to the dominant, climaxing with a strong cadence in B-flat major at the exact midpoint (downbeat of m. 17); the second segment modulates back to the tonic. The ritornello of the C-minor prelude, although composed of three principal segments, exhibits this same symmetrical tonal plan with the second segment cadencing on the dominant precisely in the middle.

The ritornello of the A-minor fantasy is built very much like those of the B-minor and E-minor preludes (see figure 13). It is divided into two clearly distinct segments, the first of which (mm. 1–4) includes exactly one-third of the material and ends on the third beat of m. 4 with a half cadence (the second segment concludes with a V–i cadence in the tonic). But in terms of its key sequence for ritornello statements it uses the strict four-key plan adopted in the other two preludes.

The B-minor and E-minor preludes are transmitted exclusively in the treble clef, suggesting a composition date of after 1725. Since both exist in autographs—or in the case of the E-minor prelude a partial autograph—dating from 1727 to 1732, neither could have been written after 1732. Stauffer has illustrated the close stylistic affinity between these works and the opening movements of Bach's "chorale cantatas" from 1724 to 1725. He maintains, in fact, that the ritornellos of these cantata movements may very well have served as prototypes for those of the preludes. The manuscript and stylistic evidence leads him to assign both works to 1725–28.

The C-minor and E-flat preludes, neither of which exists in a holograph, are also transmitted exclusively in the treble clef. The earliest source for the C-minor prelude is a Kellner copy in P 286/10 that seems to date from after 1730; the earliest source for the E-flat prelude is *Clavierübung* III, published in 1739. Stauffer has observed similarities between the C-minor prelude and Bach vocal works from 1723 to 1729 that, coupled with their treble-clef notation, suggest to him a composition date of 1725–29. He contends that the advanced style of the E-flat prelude is indicative of an even later date. Since there is no trace of the work prior to the *Clavierübung* print, he believes Bach composed it shortly before the 1739 publication date, a notion unanimously subscribed to by Bach scholars today.

The stylistic similarities between the A-minor fantasy and these four works, plus its transmission in treble clef, allow for a proposed composition date of 1726–39. Hence it appears more likely than not that both the A-minor fantasy and the A-minor fugue stem from Bach's Leipzig tenure. The dating issue aside, we ought to ask whether Bach intended for these movements to be joined together. The little evidence that exists points not to Bach but to Kittel as the architect of the pairing. To judge from the surviving manuscripts, Kittel's lost copy was not only the first source to pair the fantasy and fugue; it was also the first source to designate both as "manualiter" pieces. It is significant in this regard too that Kittel appears to have assembled his own prelude-fugue pair out of Bach's Toccata in E Major for organ (BWV 566), a work in five sections, by electing to copy out sections one and two only.<sup>23</sup> That he took two miscellaneous Bach works—one for harpsichord, one for organ—and joined them to form a two-movement organ composition for manuals alone seems to be a possibility worthy of serious consideration.<sup>24</sup>

#### THE PASTORALE IN F MAJOR (BWV 590)

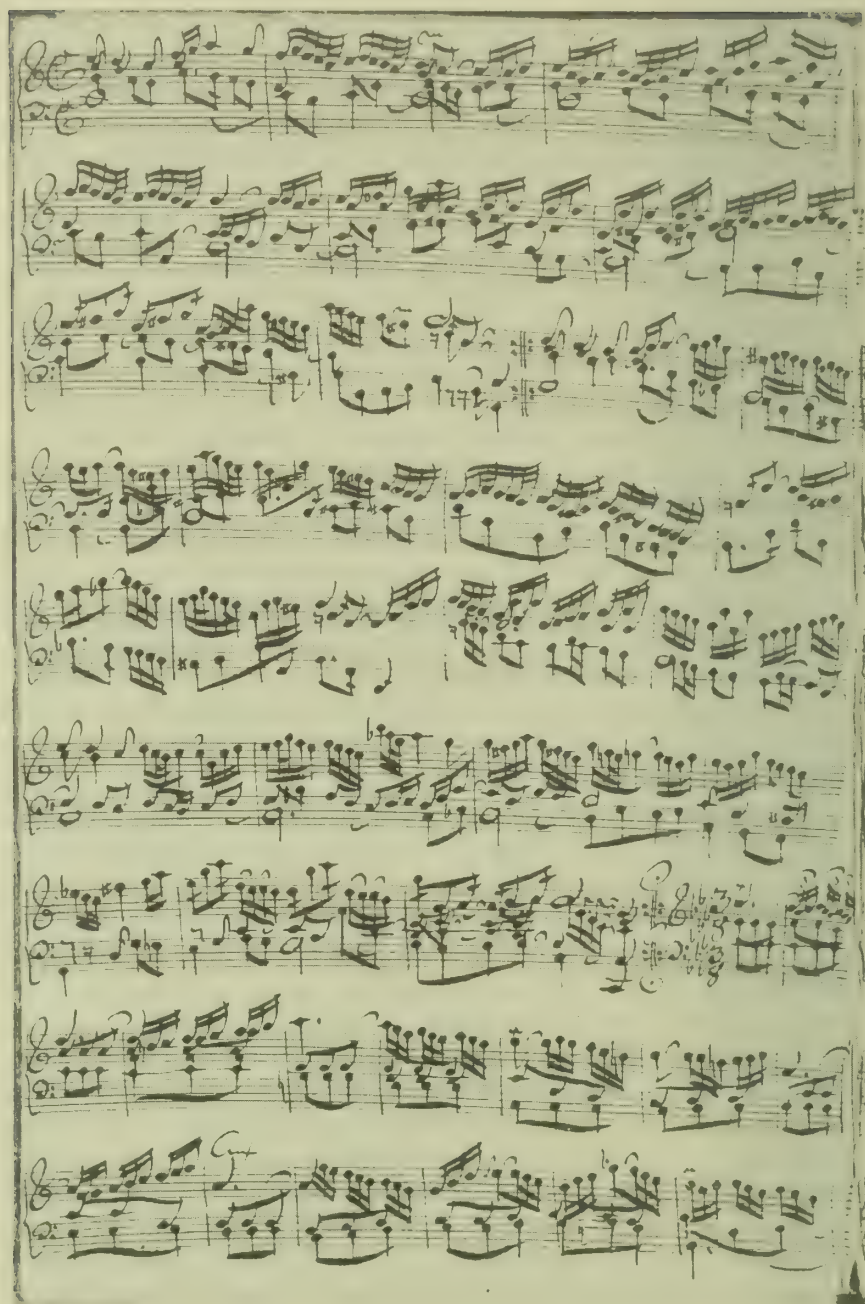
We pick up with this piece where we left off with the A-minor fantasy and fugue, for it has long been questioned whether Bach ever meant for its four movements to form a single composition. While the Pastorale (or "Pastorella," as it is called in the sources) may resemble a pastiche at first glance—commentators have maintained that it is an incongruous combination of organ and harpsichord movements—Stauffer has recently shown that its movements are not so incompatible as earlier scholars

have argued.<sup>25</sup> As he demonstrates in some detail, there is simply no stylistic or manuscript evidence sufficiently strong to challenge the view that the work as we know it represents Bach's original conception. This discussion, therefore, is based on the view that all four movements were originally composed to constitute the organ work listed in the BWV as BWV 590.<sup>26</sup>

Keller dates the *Pastorale* to Weimar, presumably due to "Italian influence"; according to Schmieder it may come from Bach's Arnstadt years (for reasons unstated).<sup>27</sup> But there are indications in its sources as well as its style that point to a significantly later origin. All four movements are transmitted exclusively in the treble clef, implying a composition date of after 1725 (see figure 15). Moreover, all their sources notate the key of C minor in the third movement with the modern key signature of three flats. Bach's practice up to and including the Weimar years was "dorian" notation, that is, the notation of flat keys in the minor mode one flat short of modern practice. From the Cöthen period on, he adopted the present-day system.<sup>28</sup> More specifically, the work's earliest source, Kellner's copy in P 287/6, was evidently prepared at some point after 1727. (No autograph has survived.) So the sources supply no evidence that the *Pastorale* was composed any earlier than 1726.

Its style strongly suggests a Leipzig origin. As Stauffer observes, the *Pastorale* seems to be too sophisticated a piece to have been composed before Bach's Weimar period. Its second and fourth movements—a *musette* and *gigue*, respectively—are reminiscent of the kinds of refined dance suites Bach wrote during his Cöthen and Leipzig periods, such as the French Suites for harpsichord, the cello suites, and the harpsichord *partitas*. Stauffer also notes that Bach employed the *pastorale* style in many vocal movements from cantatas written between 1723 and 1726 and he suggests that the organ *pastorale* may have been composed during this three-year stretch as well.

While I am in total agreement with the idea that the *Pastorale* represents a mature composition, I would like to contend that it was written even later than 1726. First of all there is its third movement, which could almost serve as a textbook example of the *galant* style, the light pre-classical idiom of the mid-eighteenth century (see figure 15). Commentators have traditionally viewed this movement as an "air"; that most generic of dance types that encompasses a wide variety of movements even among Bach's own compositions. But it does not use binary form—





something almost obligatory for a dance movement in Bach—and it displays no distinguishing traits that might allow it to be even loosely categorized as a dance type.

Its phrase structure, however, is clearly dance-derived. It uses eight-bar phrases exclusively, which can all be broken down into four groups of two-measure units. In certain phrases, such as the first, another tier of periodicity is present with the two-bar units being paired off to form two groups of four-bar units. The use of such arithmetically balanced four- and eight-bar phrases in a nondance movement, of course, is a trademark of the galant style.

Two other features of this movement associated with the galant idiom are its melody-dominated texture and slow harmonic rhythm. One could scarcely ask for a clearer differentiation between melody and accompaniment—classic homophony—and the use of repeated accompanimental chords here is a favorite galant technique. The harmonic rhythm is slow by any standard; the harmony often changes only at the rate of every two measures (as in mm. 1–3). The chronological upshot of all of this is that Bach's assimilation of the galant style into his compositional vocabulary is a phenomenon restricted mainly to the 1730s and 1740s.<sup>29</sup>

Observe too that three of the four movements of the Pastorale are scored for manuals alone. Is it not significant in this context that over half the pieces in *Clavierübung* III, published in 1739, are also organ works for manuals alone? It is indeed tempting to speculate that Bach's intense involvement with manualiter organ pieces as he compiled this publication (which, as far as we can tell, took place shortly before the publication date) may have caused him to use this scoring in three movements of the Pastorale.

The one movement with pedal, the first, also bears chronological implications. With its drone-like pedal and lilting triplets it is one of only two examples in all of Bach of an instrumental pastorale movement, the other being the sinfonia that opens part 2 of the Christmas Oratorio, performed for the first time on 26 December 1734. It has been conjectured that this sinfonia was inspired by a similar movement from Pietro Locatelli's (1695–1764) Concerto Grosso in F Minor, Op. 1, No. 8, which Bach arranged to be copied out evidently in late 1734 for a performance

Figure 15. Kellner's copy of the Pastorale in F Major (BWV 590), second movement and beginning of third movement: handwriting phase 3, late-Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 287/6, f. 2<sup>v</sup>

by the Leipzig Collegium Musicum.<sup>30</sup> And it is certainly conceivable that Bach's acquaintance with the Locatelli movement also gave him the impetus to write the first movement of his organ *pastorale*. Both movements are in F major and in 12/8 time; plus they both lack the dotted *siciliano* rhythm so characteristic of *pastorales*.

Locatelli connection or not, there seems to be too much stylistic and diplomatic evidence in favor of a Leipzig dating to continue looking at the *Pastorale* as a youthful work. Whether or not it originated in the 1730s, as I would like to believe, surely it is reasonable to view the work as another product of Bach's Leipzig years.

#### THE PRELUDE AND FUGUE IN C MAJOR (BWV 547)

It has long been believed that Bach composed this work during his last decade or so in Leipzig and, consequently, that it is one of his very last free organ compositions altogether. This notion is based on similarities between the fugue and fugues from the *Well-Tempered Clavier II*, as well as the overall mature style of both the prelude and fugue. According to Stauffer, though, it should be assigned instead to the Cöthen period, about 1719, primarily owing to stylistic features of the prelude.<sup>31</sup> He points out that the prelude's *ritornello* is constructed in a very similar manner to that of the first movement of the second Brandenburg concerto, composed presumably around 1719. He also mentions other aspects of the prelude—its rhythmic organization and melodic material—which suggest to him that it was composed after Bach's preludes that appear to date from Weimar, but before those that seem to have been composed in Leipzig. As for the fugue, Stauffer sees a close relationship between it and the fugues from Bach's A-minor and C-major sonatas for unaccompanied violin, the autograph fair copy of which is dated 1720. I shall propose—on the basis of the extant sources and, of more importance, the style of the fugue—that the traditional view of this work's date should be upheld.<sup>32</sup>

Again, the work has been handed down in treble-clef notation exclusively, already implying a composition date of after 1725. Its earliest source is Kellner's copy in P 274/1, prepared evidently after 1730. (Again, there is no autograph.)

For years scholars have enumerated similarities between the C-major fugue and Bach works composed presumably in the late 1730s. Keller

observes, for instance, that the melodic shape of its subject is quite like that of the Fugue in B Major from the Well-Tempered Clavier II.<sup>33</sup> Spitta remarks that its contrapuntal style is analogous to that of the C-minor fugue from the same collection, pointing particularly to the use of augmentation in both.<sup>34</sup> The C-major fugue is a four-voice work until the pedal is introduced near the end with the first statement of the subject in augmentation; from that point on there are five voices. In the C-minor fugue the tenor is introduced about midway through with the first augmentation statement of the subject, transforming the texture from three to four voices. Such transformation in Bach fugues, to my knowledge, is limited to these two examples. A further parallel regarding these initial augmentation statements is that in both fugues they occur simultaneously with *integer valor* statements, which use the *rectus* as well as *inversus* forms of the subject.

These fugues are also similar in their clearly articulated structure. The C-major fugue can be divided into five sections (or expositions): mm. 1–15, a tonic exposition; mm. 15–27, a tonic exposition with a new countersubject; mm. 27–34, an exposition of the subject *inversus* accompanied by the countersubject *rectus* and *inversus* from the second tonic exposition; mm. 34–48, an exposition of the subject *rectus* and *inversus* (mm. 34–38), followed by three syncopated *inversus* statements (mm. 39–42), three syncopated *rectus* statements (mm. 43–45), and a bridge (mm. 46–48) to the final section; and mm. 48–72, an exposition of the subject *rectus* and *inversus* with pedal statements *rectus* and *inversus* in augmentation (mm. 48–66), followed by a pedal-point coda with syncopated stretto statements *inversus* and *rectus* (mm. 66–72).<sup>35</sup> The C-minor fugue divides itself into three sections: mm. 1–14, tonic exposition; mm. 14–23, exposition of the subject *rectus* and *inversus* with *rectus* statements in augmentation; and mm. 23–28, stretto exposition of the subject *rectus* and *inversus*. In each work the various sections have their own unique contrapuntal tasks. For example, augmentation is restricted to just one section in both. A final correspondence between the two fugues is the employment of similar figuration to form diminished seventh chords at crucial junctures (see mm. 47–48 of the C-major fugue and m. 27 of the C-minor fugue).

But probably the most important parallel between the C-major fugue and a Bach work composed presumably in the late 1730s involves the fughetta on “Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr” (BWV 677) from *Clavierübung* III (see example 15). Bach uses remarkably similar figuration in the open-

ing measures of the fughetta and the C-major fugue in what just may be the closest relationship between any two Bach works.<sup>36</sup> In any event the similarities in this instance go to the very core of the contrapuntal fabric.

It has also been observed recently that the C-major fugue is one of only two art fugues among Bach's free organ works.<sup>37</sup> (The term "art fugue" or "Kunst Fuge" is used by Marpurg in his *Abhandlung von der Fuge* to describe a fugue that places great emphasis on contrapuntal elaboration of the subject through such learned devices as inversion, diminution, augmentation, stretto, and retrograde.) Interestingly the only other Bach art fugue for organ is the incomplete Fugue in C Minor (BWV 562/2), which exists in an autograph composing score dating from 1747 to 1748.<sup>38</sup> To add to the evidence presented above, it surely makes sense that Bach would have fashioned a fugue like the C-major during the period of his most intense involvement with contrapuntal artifice, namely the late 1730s and the 1740s, the period that saw the composition of such polyphonically complex works as the Art of Fugue, Musical Offering, Canonic Variations on "Vom Himmel hoch," and Credo from the B Minor Mass.

Hitherto undetected similarities exist between the C-major fugue and two other presumably late Bach fugues: the fughetta on "Wir glauben all an einen Gott" (BWV 681) from *Clavierübung* III and Contrapunctus 1 from the Art of Fugue. As can be seen in example 16, all three employ a dramatic combination of chords and rests to prepare for their concluding pedal points. Significantly too, they rely heavily on diminished seventh chords. Such passages are quite rare in Bach.<sup>39</sup>

Thus the bulk of the evidence—indeed, virtually all of the evidence—overwhelmingly supports the notion that the C-major fugue dates from the late 1730s or the 1740s. The question now seems to be whether or not the C-major prelude should be automatically assigned to the same period. To begin with, it is significant that the sources consistently transmit the movements as a prelude-fugue pair, always notating both in treble clef. Further, the stylistic relationship between the prelude and fugue is such that Peter Williams has called it "as close a relationship between the movements as can ever be demonstrated in a Bach organ work."<sup>40</sup> The prelude also employs a series of dramatic chords—one of them a diminished seventh—and rests toward the end that leads to a concluding tonic pedal. Williams notes that, in addition to the chordal passages, the prelude and fugue correspond in terms of melodic material—they are both built from short subjects that lead to expansive treat-



Example 15. Mm. 1–4 of the Fugue in C Major (BWV 547/2) and Fughetta on “Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr” (BWV 677)

The image displays two systems of musical notation for keyboard instruments. The first system is for BWV 547/2, showing the first four measures of the Fugue in C Major. The second system is for BWV 677 (transposed to C major), showing the first four measures of the Fughetta on "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr". Both systems are written in treble and bass staves, with a common time signature of common time (C). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, illustrating the melodic and harmonic structure of these two works.

ment—as well as harmonic style (the prelude applies modulatory dominant sevenths at key moments; the fugue, diminished sevenths). And both movements begin on the same solitary pitch, something very unusual in a Bach prelude and fugue for organ.<sup>41</sup> While certain similarities between the prelude and fugue and pre-Leipzig works undoubtedly exist, the evidence would seem to indicate that the Prelude and Fugue in C Major was originally conceived as a prelude-fugue pair during the late 1730s or the 1740s.<sup>42</sup>

To summarize, a number of stylistic observations—in conjunction with research on the sources—suggest that all three works discussed in this chapter were written by Bach during his Leipzig period. The Fantasy and Fugue in A Minor may well represent two miscellaneous pieces

Example 16a. Fugue in C Major (BWV 547/2), mm. 64–66



Example 16b. Fughetta on "Wir glauben all an einen Gott" (BWV 681), mm. 11–15



(perhaps one for harpsichord, one for organ) from the second half of the 1720s or the 1730s that Bach never intended to be paired; the Pastorale in F Major shows signs of having been composed in the 1730s; and the Prelude and Fugue in C Major is most likely a composition from the late 1730s or the 1740s. These conclusions reflect to some degree a growing

## Example 16c. Contrapunctus 1 from the Art of Fugue (BWV 1080), mm. 70–74



trend in scholarship on the chronology of Bach's instrumental music, and this is the redating of works presumed to be of pre-Leipzig origin to the Leipzig period. Recent research on Bach's chamber works has demonstrated that the composition of instrumental music probably played a greater role in his Leipzig years than we have been led to believe.<sup>43</sup>





CHAPTER VI  
SOME MISCELLANEOUS  
PROBLEMS OF AUTHENTICITY  
AND AUTHORSHIP

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Although we have already addressed these issues with respect to the three organ transcriptions and Kellner's copy of the unaccompanied violin works, there are several other works transmitted by the Kellner circle where authenticity and authorship are also key concerns. These works fall into two categories: compositions whose authenticity is considered questionable by present-day scholars but that are ascribed to Bach by a Kellner-circle scribe; and anonymously transmitted pieces, two of which are listed in the appendix of the BWV.

We will begin with works from the first category. Because of Kellner's personal ties to Bach, there is a temptation to assume that he (and his scribes) copied them from lost autographs, in which case their authenticity could scarcely be questioned. But, as discussed in chapter 2, there is good reason to believe that the Kellner circle frequently worked from nonautograph exemplars that, in turn, may not have been prepared from autographs either. On the other hand, it is important not to let the negative impression created by Kellner's careless and evidently unscrupulous scribal practices blind us to the possibility that his (and his copyists') attributions to Bach are trustworthy.<sup>1</sup> Assigning a piece to its correct composer is quite a different matter from the tedious business of writing out the music. Each case is unique and must be weighed on its own merits.

THE TOCCATA IN D MINOR (BWV 565)

Peter Williams has argued persuasively that this work is most likely not by Bach.<sup>2</sup> Among its peculiarities are the unaccompanied pedal state-

ment of the fugue subject about midway through, the minor plagal cadence at the very end, the preponderance of diminished sevenths throughout, and the monotonous harmonic writing. As Williams observes, some of these idiosyncrasies are suggestive of a lost original version for violin, which leads him to propose that BWV 565 is a transcription of an unaccompanied violin piece (not necessarily by Bach either). Ringk's copy in P 595/8, which unambiguously names Bach as the composer, is the earliest source and, considering the interest in keyboard transcription within the Kellner circle, it is possible that Ringk is also the transcriber.

Williams does not discuss clefs in connection with his transcription hypothesis, often an important concern in such theorizing (because transcriptions frequently involve key transpositions), as we have already seen with the three organ-trio arrangements. If the lost original were for violin it would have been notated in treble clef, whereas Ringk uses soprano clef throughout, a discrepancy that would seem to cast doubt on Williams's transcription theory. But Williams submits that the lost original was a fifth higher than BWV 565 and in this regard the soprano-clef notation only supports his hypothesis: the use of soprano instead of treble clef would have expedited the transposition down a fifth, as the noteheads of the original and the transcription would have been just a third, instead of a fifth, apart. Furthermore, Ringk obviously felt more comfortable with soprano clef since it is the clef used in virtually all of his surviving keyboard manuscripts (copies as well as autographs).<sup>3</sup>

#### THE FANTASY IN G MAJOR (BWV 571)

This work's earliest and presumably only pre-1750 source is Kellner's copy in P 287/10, which attributes it clearly to Bach. Nonetheless, it is difficult to argue in favor of the fantasy's authenticity because of its rudimentary style.<sup>4</sup> If it is by Bach it must be quite early. Spitta, who accepted it wholeheartedly as authentic, heard echoes of Buxtehude in its thematic unity and form, and concluded that Bach composed it during his Arnstadt years, most likely immediately following his study in Lübeck under Buxtehude in 1705–6.<sup>5</sup> It is unusual for a multi-sectional work from the German organ repertory of the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century to incorporate a chaconne—the chaconnes are typically self-contained pieces. That the fantasy concludes with one brings to

mind Buxtehude's Prelude, Fugue, and Chaconne in C Major for organ (BuxWV 137), a work also consisting of three sections, the last of which is also a chaconne, and a work Bach may have known through its inclusion in the Andreas Bach Book.<sup>6</sup> It has been conjectured that BuxWV 137 also influenced Bach in another of his early compositions, the "Neumeister" chorale "Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr" (BWV 1115), perhaps lending weight to the notion that the G-major fantasy is an authentic, if youthful, Bach work.<sup>7</sup>

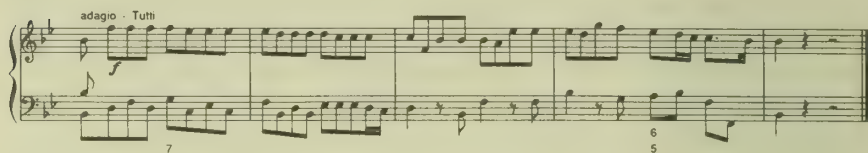
#### THE SUITE IN B-FLAT MAJOR (BWV 821)

This work's only source is the copy by Anonymous 9 in P 804/24, where it is ascribed to Bach. It is listed in *The New Grove Bach Family* as "probably authentic" (p. 207), but was omitted from NBA, V/10 primarily because of the concluding "Echo," a movement where the echo principle is applied more systematically than in any other work in the Bach canon: except for the last five bars, whenever a phrase is presented it is immediately repeated with one of the interior voices removed and at a lower dynamic level (*piano* as opposed to *forte*).<sup>8</sup> There is, however, considerable stylistic evidence that the suite is an early Bach work, most of which comes from the newly discovered Neumeister chorales.

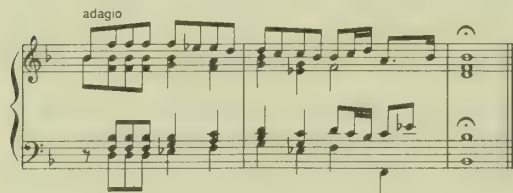
One is alerted to the suite's stylistic affinity with these chorales first and foremost because of the remarkable similarity between the last five bars of the Echo and the last three bars of the Neumeister chorale "Alle Menschen müssen sterben" (BWV 1117; see example 17.) It seems impossible that the two passages were not written by the same composer. They both form adagio codas in chordal texture—and such passages per se are very unusual—that use the same general melodic and harmonic progressions, employ the same note values, begin on the second half of the first beat (immediately following perfect authentic cadences with  $b\flat$  in the soprano), and are in the same key.<sup>9</sup>

The Echo uses echo technique in conjunction with chordal writing, something witnessed in four other of Bach's Neumeister chorales: "Herr Gott, nun schleuss den Himmel auf" (BWV 1092); "Jesu, meine Freude" (BWV 1105); "Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt" (BWV 1113); and "Christ, der du bist der helle Tag" (BWV 1120). It must also be mentioned that in two passages where the texture is especially homophonic (mm. 11–13 and mm. 35–39), the chordal style itself is highly reminiscent of

Example 17a. "Echo" from the Suite in B-flat Major (BWV 821), mm. 45–49 (after P 804/24)



Example 17b. "Alle Menschen müssen sterben" (BWV 1117), mm. 25–27



that in these four chorales. Indeed, if taken out of context, mm. 11–12 sound like nothing so much as a standard four-part, block-chord harmonization of a chorale tune.

There are two passages in the second movement of the suite—an allemande—that also deserve mention in this connection. By far the most significant is m. 8, where on the first two beats the lower two voices are pitted against one another rhythmically just as they are in five Neumeister chorales: the bottom voice moves along in  $\underline{\text{f}} \underline{\text{f}} \underline{\text{f}} \underline{\text{f}}$  figuration, while the middle is given  $\text{f} \underline{\text{f}} \text{f} \underline{\text{f}}$  rhythms.<sup>10</sup> The second passage is mm. 20–21, whose syncopation is redolent of that in the Neumeister chorale "Gott ist mein Heil, mein Hilf und Trost" (BWV 1106), m. 8 (last two beats).

In more general terms, the three-part texture used for all movements except the Echo is typical of the Neumeister settings, as is the interesting and sometimes bold harmonic writing (see especially the Echo). (Irrespective of any connection with the Neumeister chorales, the audacious harmonic style suggests no one so strongly as the young Bach.) And the use of figured bass symbols for the very last bars of the suite is another technique associated with Bach's early keyboard works.<sup>11</sup> We can feel safe then in viewing BWV 821 as a youthful Bach work and—because of its affinity with Bach's Neumeister chorales—one of his earliest extant keyboard suites altogether.



## THE PRELUDE AND FUGUE IN A MINOR (BWV 895)

Curiously enough, according to *The New Grove Bach Family* (p. 209), this may be a work by Kellner or one of his pupils. But it seems quite clear that, as with the B-flat suite, we are dealing with another authentic Bach composition. It exists in two sources whose relative chronology is unclear: the copy by Anonymous 5 in P 804/9, where Kellner ascribes it to Bach; and an incomplete copy of the prelude (mm. 1–4) by the Gehren cantor Johann Christoph Bach (1673–1727), who also attributes it to Bach (see figure 16).<sup>12</sup> It is reasonable to assume that J. C. Bach prepared his copy from a lost autograph, rather than the P 804 copy, since his copy of the Inventions and Sinfonias (BWV 772–801) appears to have been made from the extant autograph. Furthermore, J. C. Bach uses the Italian spelling of Bach's name (Giovanni), whereas the P 804 copy uses the German spelling (Johann), implying that the scribes worked from different exemplars. The fact that two individuals personally acquainted with Bach and working presumably independent of each other attribute the work to Bach makes a powerful case for its authenticity.

It is obviously for reasons of style that scholars have questioned Bach's authorship. If compared to mature Bach preludes and fugues, the work's dimensions are modest, its harmonic scope limited—it uses no keys other than the tonic, dominant, and subdominant—and its counterpoint anything but rigorous (although the fugue is technically in four voices, four-part texture is rare and only three voices participate in the opening exposition). But it has been demonstrated recently that such "shortcomings" are entirely representative of early Bach keyboard works and the use of a toccata-like flourish to conclude the fugue is common among Bach's early keyboard fugues.<sup>13</sup> It is perhaps also significant that the prelude begins with figuration recalling the initial bars of the E-minor lute suite (BWV 996), a work whose authenticity can scarcely be questioned. Until such time as compelling evidence to the contrary is brought forth, we have little choice but to accept BWV 895 as an authentic, youthful work.

## THE PRELUDE AND FUGHETTA IN D MINOR (BWV 899)

This work is transmitted together with the Preludes and Fughettas in C Major and E Minor (BWV 870a and BWV 900, respectively) not only by Kellner in P 804/38, but also by the Bach pupil, J. C. Vogler, and C. P. E.

Handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is complex, featuring many beamed sixteenth and thirty-second notes, suggesting a fast tempo. The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 6/8, indicated by the "6" above the first staff and the "6" below the fifth staff. The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature "C". The notation is dense and fills most of the staves. The piece concludes with a double bar line on the tenth staff.

Bach's copyist, "Michel." Vogler's and Michel's copies also transmit the Preludes and Fughettas in F Major and G Major (BWV 901 and BWV 902, respectively). Michel's copy, presumably prepared from a lost autograph in C. P. E. Bach's possession, arranges the works in the ascending key order C major–D minor–E minor–F major–G major under the title *V. Praeludien / und / V. Fugen / von / J. S. Bach*, suggesting that the five works form a self-contained collection (or at least the beginnings of one), somewhat along the lines of the Well-Tempered Clavier.<sup>14</sup> Kellner uses virtually the same title for his copy as Bach does for the Well-Tempered Clavier I, but whether or not Bach authorized its use for the collection of preludes and fughettas is unclear.

The D-minor prelude and fughetta is the only one of these five works whose authenticity is considered questionable.<sup>15</sup> Yet Kellner, Vogler, and Michel—three scribes with close ties to the Bach circle—attribute it to Bach and stylistically it has much in common with the other four. It is exceptional only in that the opening exposition of the fughetta states the subject in the order tonic–dominant–dominant, instead of the typical alternating scheme tonic–dominant–tonic. Although this procedure is rare in Bach, back-to-back statements in the dominant do occur in the opening expositions of unquestionably authentic Bach fugues.<sup>16</sup> In terms of overall style, neither this work nor its four partners differ significantly from the keyboard music Bach composed in Cöthen (1717–23), such as the Inventions and Sinfonias or the Well-Tempered Clavier I. In short, there is no reason to doubt its authenticity.

#### THE FANTASIES AND FUGHETTAS IN B-FLAT MAJOR AND D MAJOR (BWV 907 and BWV 908)

It is with good reason that scholars continue to raise doubts about Bach's authorship of these pieces, the only works in the Bach canon transmitted in "partimento" (essentially a one-staff, figured-bass part containing occasional melodic suggestions from which a player was expected to improvise a complete composition, instead of merely an accompaniment; see figure 17). The earliest sources for the two works, Kellner's copies in P 804/18 and P 804/26 and a copy by Carl Gotthelf Gerlach (1704–61),

Figure 16. Anonymous 5's copy of the Prelude and Fugue in A Minor (BWV 895)—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/9, f. 1<sup>v</sup>



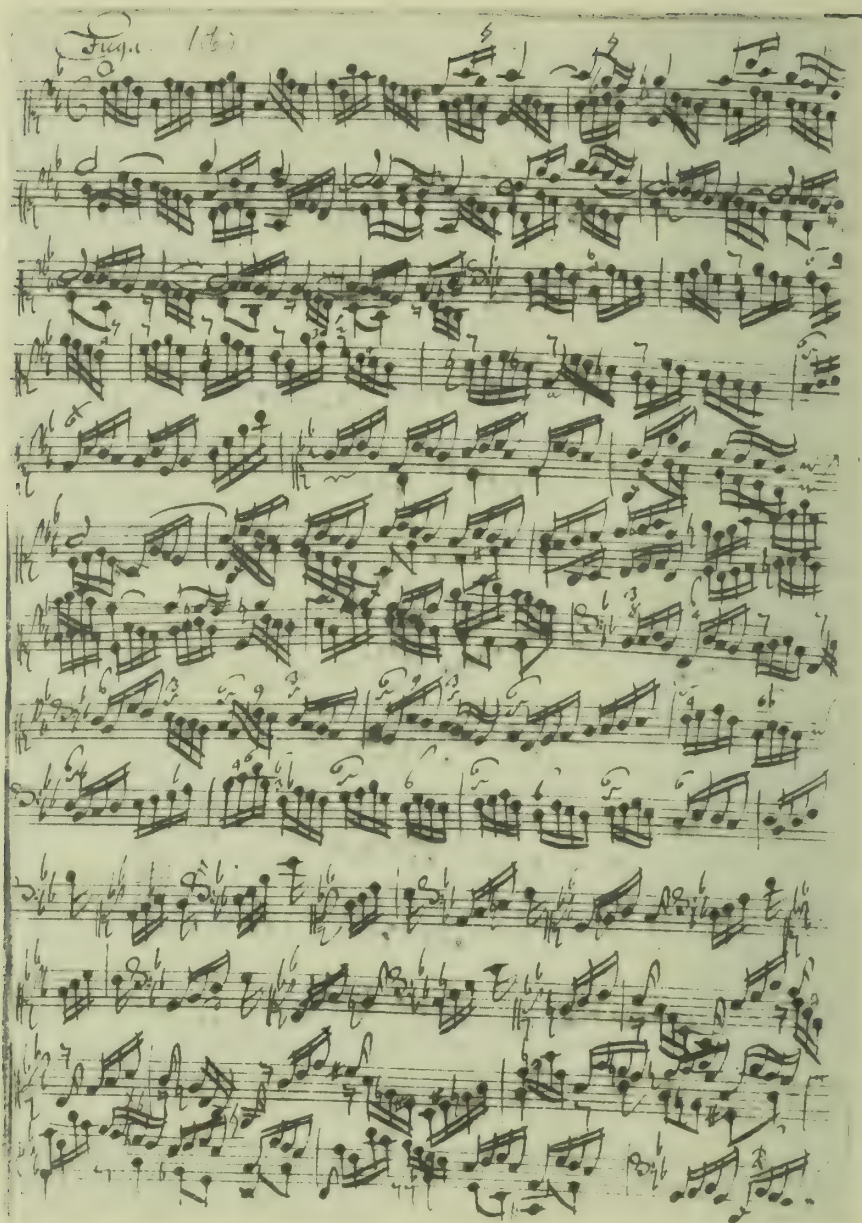


Figure 17. Kellner's copy of the Fughetta in B-flat Major (bwv 907/2): handwriting phase 3, early-Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/18, f. 1<sup>v</sup>



attribute them to Bach.<sup>17</sup> Both Kellner and Gerlach were in close contact with Bach at one time or another (Gerlach was a member of Bach's immediate circle in Leipzig around 1724).

Gerlach's copy appears to have served as the exemplar for a copy of BWV 907 in the Amalien-Bibliothek that originally named Bach as the composer. At some later date, however, the Bach (and Kellner) pupil Kirnberger—who, it will be recalled, oversaw the compilation of the Amalien-Bibliothek—crossed out Bach's name, replacing it with "Kirchof," a reference to the Halle organist, Gottfried Kirchoff (1685–1746).<sup>18</sup> Marpurg's report that Kirchoff composed "partimento" fugues gives Kirnberger's attribution considerable credibility.<sup>19</sup> Because of the strong similarities between BWV 907 and BWV 908 (the partimento notation, fantasy-fughetta format, movement length, and so on) scholars have tentatively assigned BWV 908 to Kirchoff too. One can well imagine that Bach copied Kirchoff works when in 1716 he examined the organ at the Liebfrauenkirche in Halle, where Kirchoff was organist.<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, Gerlach and Kellner could have worked from a manuscript in Bach's hand that contained pieces by Kirchoff but failed to indicate a composer, and could have consequently assumed that Bach was the composer.

#### THE FANTASY IN C MINOR (BWV 919)


We have it on the authority of nineteenth-century editors that this work once existed in a Kellner copy, and since they published it under Bach's name we can only assume that Kellner ascribed it to Bach.<sup>21</sup> According to a copy by J. G. Preller, however, the composer is "Bernhardt" Bach, most likely meaning the Eisenach town organist, Johann Bernhard Bach (1676–1749).<sup>22</sup> There is certainly nothing in the fantasy's style at odds with a J. S. Bach attribution; it is a bicinium very much in the style of Bach's Two-Part Inventions and a finely wrought piece altogether.<sup>23</sup> It is Kellner's word against Preller's, and the matter of authorship must remain open.

#### THE FUGUE IN A MAJOR (BWV 949)

This piece is attributed to Bach by his elder brother, Johann Christoph, in the Andreas Bach Book and by Kellner in P 804/37 (copy by Mey, evi-

dently from Johann Christoph's copy). Johann Christoph's exemplar was probably a lost autograph and there is really no stylistic evidence whatever for challenging the fugue's authenticity. As Hill has shown, it appears to be a reworking of Albinoni's Trio Sonata in G Major, Op. 1, No. 7, and a much more sophisticated reworking than that seen in Bach's other Albinoni fugues (BWV 946, 950, and 951).<sup>24</sup> Thus, BWV 949 may be the last of these works to have been composed.

#### THE FUGUE IN E MINOR (BWV 956)

This work's only source is Frischmuth's copy in P 804/8, which names Bach as the composer (see figure 18). But there is reason to question the attribution on stylistic grounds. The fugue is rather prosaic and monotonous as there is excessive sequential treatment of the motive .<sup>25</sup> Even the subject itself, which contains four statements of the motive, hints at this repetitiveness and the episodes frequently consist of little more than statements of the motive in parallel thirds or sixths (see especially mm. 46–51). It is difficult to reconcile this monochromaticism with the idea that if the fugue is authentic it must be early, for the piece betrays nothing of the experimental range of Bach's early efforts. It is textbook through and through—except for the augmented second on the first beat of m. 11, soprano voice.

A reasonable supposition would be that Frischmuth copied from an exemplar in Kellner's hand that failed to name a composer and that Frischmuth assumed the manuscript to be another of his teacher's Bach copies, when in reality it was a Kellner autograph. To judge from Kellner's surviving fugues, he was not above workaday writing like this.<sup>26</sup>

#### THE GIGUE IN G MAJOR (BWV Anh. 81)

The only source for this unpublished work is Anonymous 3's copy in P 804/4, which also contains a copy by Anonymous 2 and Anonymous 3 of the Concerto in D Minor after Marcello (BWV 974; see figures 19 and 20). An independent three-bar passage (also found in no other source) in Anonymous 3's hand appears following the concerto, which provides a

Figure 18. Frischmuth's copy of the Fugue in E Minor (BWV 956)—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/8, f. 1<sup>v</sup>

*Fuga*     *Sit. Sopra I p. 72*

The musical score is a handwritten fugue for Soprano I, page 72. It consists of ten staves of music. The notation is dense and complex, with many beamed sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is common time (C). The handwriting is in a historical style, likely from the 18th or 19th century. The paper is aged and slightly discolored.

modulation from the D-major tonality of the final chord of the concerto to the G-major tonality of the Gigue. The Gigue then immediately follows.

Whoever composed the modulatory passage and Gigue—no composer is given for either—was an unimaginative and unskilled contrapuntist. Only when voices are given the subject do they have any melodic interest; when two or more voices simultaneously present counterpoint against a statement of the subject the writing is rather homophonic. One could go on and enumerate such shortcomings as the parallel octaves in mm. 11–12 and m. 14, the absence of the two inner voices from the second half of m. 15, and the abrupt cadence at the end of m. 16. Could Bach have made such a dull and feeble attempt at fugal writing at any time in his career? As for the modulatory passage, it could hardly be more monotonous.

Judging from obvious melodic and harmonic similarities it seems that both “movements” stem from the same composer, who was evidently concerned that they be unified melodically. The bass line of the modulatory passage outlines the entire theme of the Gigue and the first seven notes of each are identical. They are further linked by the virtually identical counterpoint they employ against the final bars of their “subjects.” (Compare the V–I pattern in m. 2 of the modulatory passage to mm. 4, 7, 9, 12, and 14 of the Gigue.) There are no traces of compositional revision so we cannot be sure that the scribe, perhaps one of Kellner’s pupils, is also the composer. But the only other person who comes to mind is Kellner himself, and judging from Vogler’s copy of Kellner’s C-minor fugue in Mus. ms. 11544/8 (SPK), Kellner was capable of writing fugues superior to the Gigue as early as the mid-1720s (the Gigue presumably could not have been composed later than 1726/27, the proposed date of Anonymous 3’s copy).<sup>27</sup> Although no instrumental designation is provided, the Gigue must be an organ work since pedal is required in mm. 13 and mm. 15–17.

#### THE FUGUE IN C MAJOR (BWV Anh. 90)

Anonymous 5’s incomplete copy (mm. 1–28) of this work in P 804/54 carries the title “Fuga in C<sup>♯</sup> di Bach,” essentially the same title adopted in

Figure 19. Anonymous 3’s copy of the Concerto in D Minor after Marcello (BWV 974), last movement, followed by modulatory passage (bottom system)—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/4, f. 4<sup>v</sup>



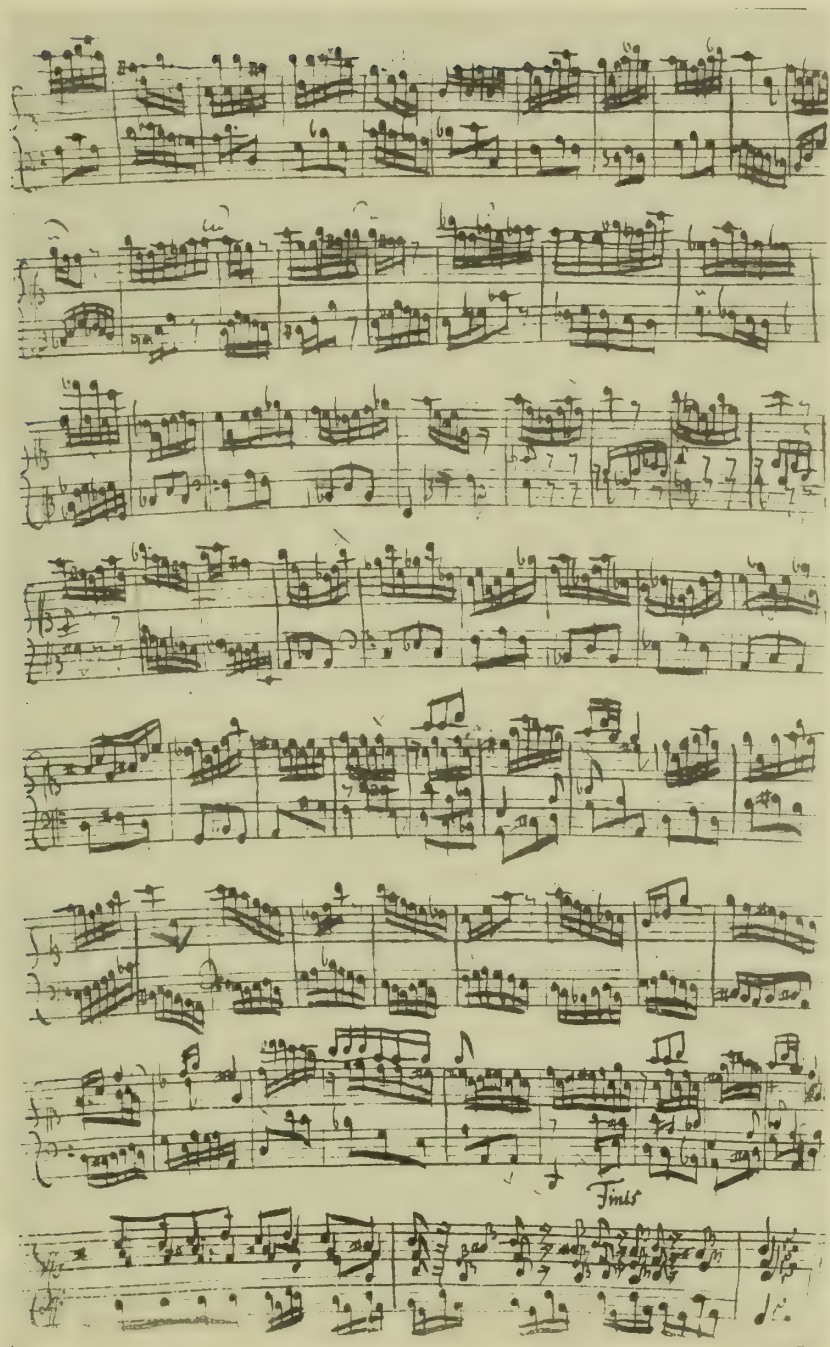




Figure 20. Anonymous 3's copy of the Gigue in G Major (BWV Anh. 81)—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/4, f. 5<sup>r</sup>

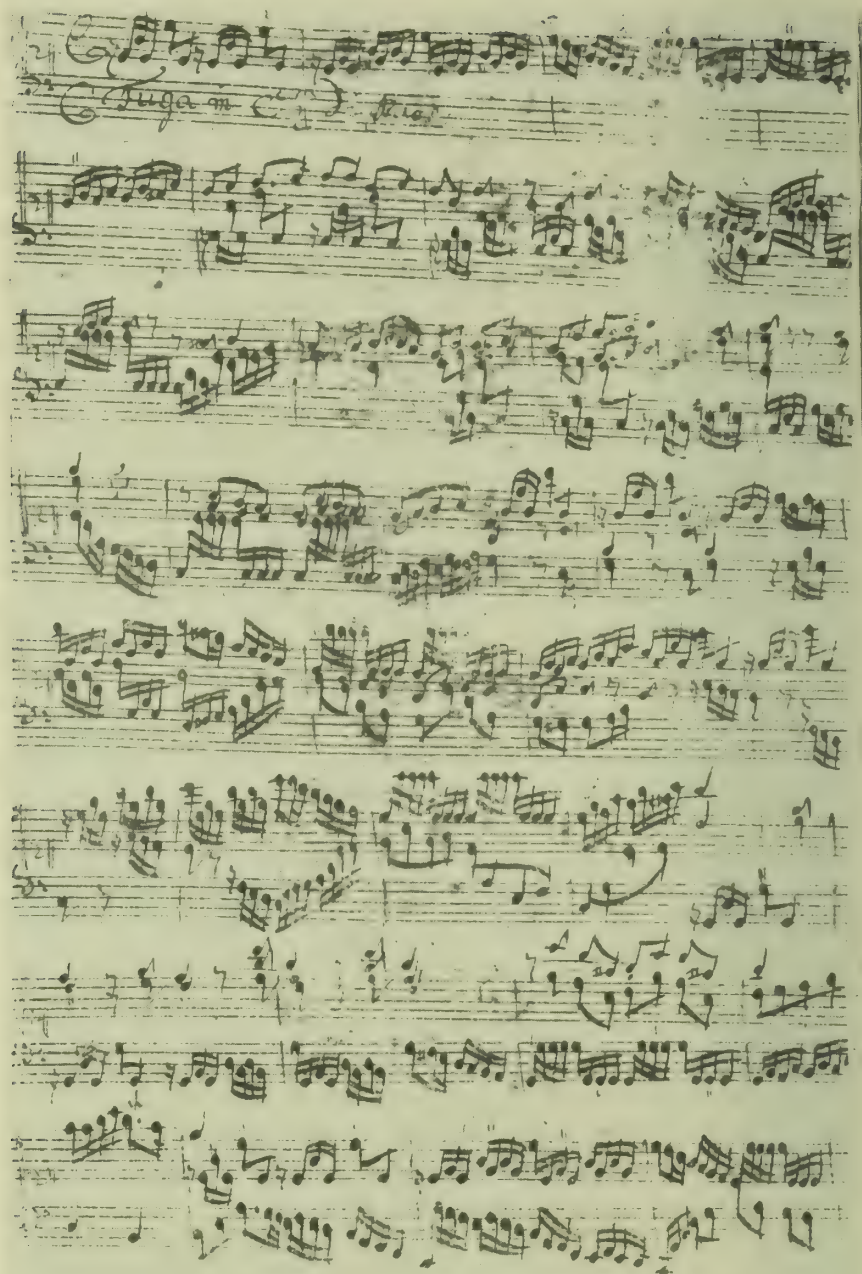
a much later (and complete) copy by the wealthy collector, Friedrich August Grasnich (1798–1877), a pupil of a pupil of Kirnberger (see figure 21).<sup>28</sup> But its earliest and only other source, the so-called “Mylau Tabulaturbuch,” an anthology of late seventeenth-century German keyboard music copied evidently between about 1685 and 1700, names no composer.<sup>29</sup> The early date of this manuscript has given rise to the argument that, if the fugue is by Bach, it must be juvenilia.<sup>30</sup>

It seems far more likely, however, that the fugue stems from one of Bach’s Central-German predecessors. Stylistically, it is entirely representative of the “canzona” fugues in the Mylau manuscript, especially those by Nicolaus Vetter (1666–1734).<sup>31</sup> In these works subjects are constructed from repetition, and often the repetition involves little more than the continuous sounding of either the tonic or dominant note.<sup>32</sup> Instead of being paired with meaningful countersubjects, the subjects are merely harmonized. And with respect to overall structure there is precious little in terms of episodes: the works consist almost exclusively of statements of the subject in the tonic or dominant.<sup>33</sup> I know of no authenticated Bach work, however early, that can match this description.

#### THE SONATA IN A MAJOR FOR VIOLIN AND CONTINUO (BWV Anh. 153)

This attractive but unpublished work survives in two sources, neither of which provides a title, instrumental designation, or composer attribution: Mey’s copy in P 804/43; and a copy by an anonymous eighteenth-century scribe in Mus. 945/16 (Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek des Bezirkes Schwerin).<sup>34</sup> The range and figuration of the obbligato part show that it was written for the violin but its authorship is far from clear.<sup>35</sup> Like BWV Anh. 81, its inclusion in the appendix of the BWV stems presumably from nothing more than the fact that P 804 contains numerous Bach compositions. Schmieder may have also been aware that P 804 preserves several undoubtedly authentic Bach works without assigning them to any composer. Furthermore, the sonata has recently been included in a recording of Bach’s chamber music.<sup>36</sup> However, the only compelling evidence bearing on the authorship issue—the stylistic evidence—strongly suggests that someone other than Bach is responsible.

From what we know of Bach’s stylistic development he could have written a work like this no earlier than around 1713, when he appears to have encountered for the first time the music of Antonio Vivaldi.<sup>37</sup> Bach





inherited from Vivaldi various melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic techniques—triadic melodic contours, motoric rhythms, clearly articulated modulation schemes, and so forth—that are evident throughout the sonata. Yet it contains awkward harmonic progressions and clumsy part-writing representative only of Bach's earliest compositional essays (such as the Neumeister chorales). Examples of these deficiencies can be seen in the abrupt modulation from D major to E major in mm. 17–18 of the first movement (see figure 22), the static harmonic activity in mm. 1–14 and 24–27 of the third movement (see figure 23), and the crude counterpoint in mm. 17–23 and mm. 79–85 of the fourth movement (see figure 24).<sup>38</sup> Also uncharacteristic of Bach are the extremely high arpeggiated writing in the fifth movement, the use of the mediant as the key of the third movement, the employment of “dorian” notation for a sharp key (C-sharp minor is notated in the third movement with only three sharps), and the five-movement design.

The Schwerin manuscript may offer a clue as to the identity of the composer, for it also transmits anonymously two keyboard overtures by Telemann (TWV 32:15–16).<sup>39</sup> There are some fairly striking similarities between BWV Anh. 153 and certain Telemann chamber and orchestral works, such as his *Essercizii Musici* of 1739–40 (see especially “Solo 7,” another sonata in A Major for violin and continuo [TWV 41:A 6]). Moreover, several of Telemann's chamber sonatas, including all six from the *Continuation des Sonates Methodiques* (1732), employ the unusual five-movement scheme. There is also evidence that Telemann's music was transmitted within the Kellner circle: Ringk copied one of his cantatas; Mempel, or his principal copyist, copied the *Fugierte und veränderte Choräle* (TWV 31:1–48); and Kellner may have owned the fascicle of P 804 containing organ transcriptions of a Telemann concerto and aria (to be discussed below).<sup>40</sup> One wonders, though, whether a composer of Telemann's stature could be guilty of the sort of compositional deficiencies outlined above.

The two sources share numerous erroneous readings, inferring that they stem directly or indirectly from the same exemplar. But they disagree with respect to movement order: Mey's copy gives the movements in the sequence used in the BWV, while the Schwerin manuscript begins

Figure 21. Anonymous 5's copy of the Fugue in C Major (BWV Anh. 90)—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. MS. Bach P 804/54, f. 1<sup>v</sup>



Figure 22. Mey's copy of the Sonata in A Major (BWV Anh. 153), first movement: late handwriting phase—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/43, f. 2<sup>r</sup>

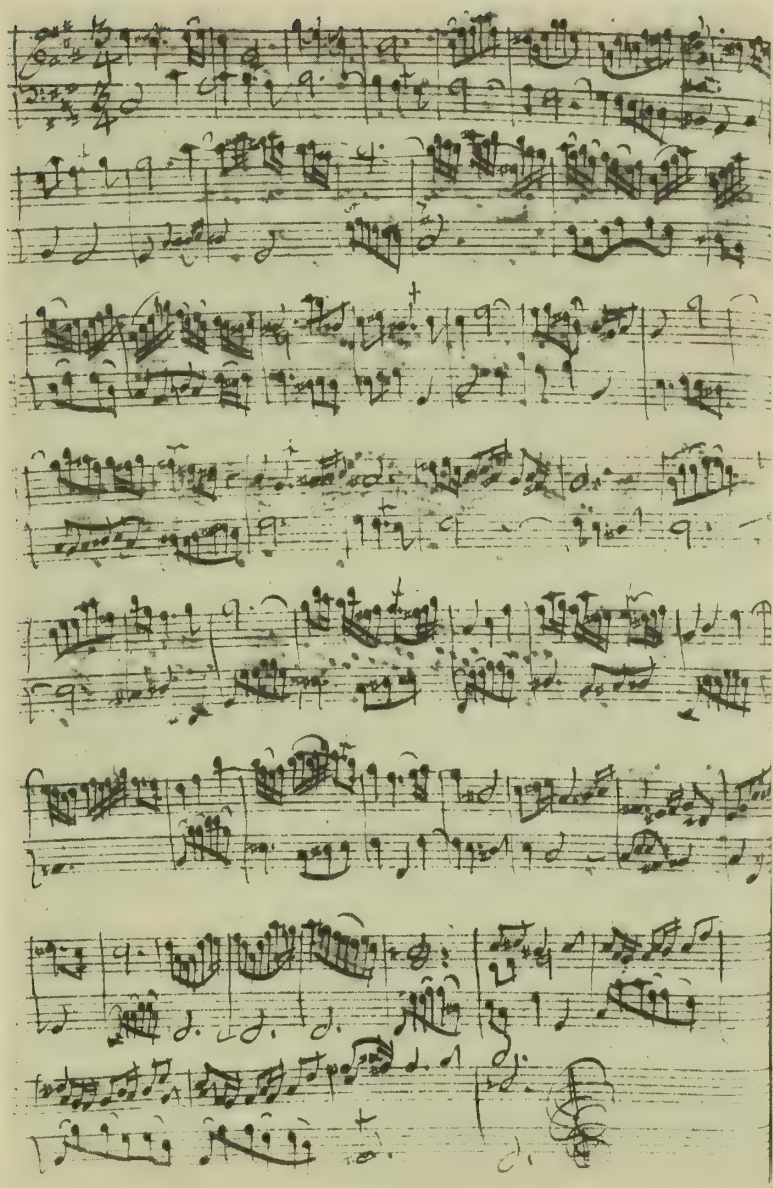


Figure 23. Mey's copy of the Sonata in A Major (bwv Anh. 153), third movement: late handwriting phase—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/43, f. 3<sup>v</sup>





Figure 24. Mey's copy of the Sonata in A Major (bwv Anh. 153), fourth movement: late handwriting phase—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. Bach P 804/43, f. 1<sup>r</sup>



with (according to the BWV) the second movement and follows with the third, fourth, and first, respectively.<sup>41</sup> Both sources conclude with the same movement. There can be little doubt that the intended order is that given in the Schwerin manuscript. First of all, the movement that begins Mey's copy is modulatory, commencing in E major and ending up in A major. It is virtually unheard of for a multi-movement instrumental work from the eighteenth century to begin in a key other than the tonic. Moreover, the E-major tonality of the opening measures allows for a smooth transition from the C-sharp minor movement and the A-major tonality of the last movement since C-sharp minor and E major are relative keys.

"ICH RUF ZU DIR, HERR JESU CHRIST" (BWV deest)

This unpublished chorale can hardly be the work of Bach, despite the fact that Gutjahr's copy in ms. 4/3—the piece's only source—names Bach as the composer. One detects this already from the opening four measures, which could scarcely be more static melodically and harmonically (see example 18). From the onset of three-part texture in m. 4 until the conclusion of the first ritornello statement in m. 16, the upper two voices frequently move in parallel thirds or sixths, and in mm. 8–9 the soprano and bass move in parallel thirds. The parallel motion gives the chorale a galant flavor, suggesting a composer of the post-Bach generation—perhaps Kellner, whose organ setting of "Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan" uses similar textures.<sup>42</sup> Rarely does Bach ever utilize the galant idiom in his organ chorales, which are often in a conservative (read "imitative") if not antiquated style.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, if Bach were the composer the texture most likely would have thickened to four parts for the statements of the cantus firmus. Gutjahr may have been working from a Kellner autograph that lacked a composer attribution and assumed that the manuscript was one of Kellner's Bach copies. The "Ich ruf" setting is not quite complete, lacking the final bars of the last ritornello statement.

## TWO TELEMANN TRANSCRIPTIONS

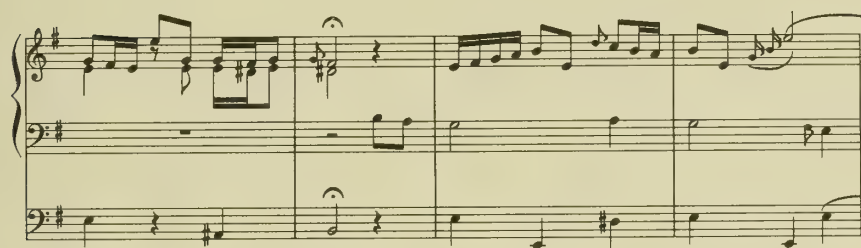
The two unpublished keyboard arrangements entered by Anonymous 4 in P 804/6 appear in no other source. The first is an organ transcription of a B-flat major violin concerto by Telemann; the second is a transcription,

Example 18. "Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ" (BWV deest), mm. 1–22

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. The first system contains measures 1–4, the second system contains measures 5–8, and the third system contains measures 9–12. The treble staff features a melodic line with various rhythmic values, while the bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment. The notation includes various accidentals, slurs, and dynamic markings.

either for harpsichord or organ, of an aria whose origins are unknown (it is titled simply *Aria di Telemann*).<sup>44</sup>

There is good reason to believe that the concerto transcription and the fascicle itself stem not from Kellner's circle but from the J. G. Walther circle in Weimar. Anonymous 4—who appears in no other source—displays a hand remarkably similar to Walther's, suggesting that he was one of Walther's pupils or copyists.<sup>45</sup> More significant, the copy contains a keyboard concerto-transcription, a genre in which Walther was un-



usually prolific.<sup>46</sup> The profusely embellished style of the arrangement brings Walther's to mind, and the ornamentation in the last two movements is extremely similar to that in the last two movements of a keyboard transcription of a Telemann concerto (the original of which has not survived) copied by Walther and presumably of his fashioning as well.<sup>47</sup> The watermark of P 804/6 is one of the most common in the Walther-Krebs miscellanies and is found in no other Kellner-circle source.<sup>48</sup> Finally, the title of the P 804 transcription—*Concerto. del Sign. / Teleman* [sic]

*/ appropriato al Organo.*—uses virtually the same wording that Walther uses for all of his (most of which exist in autograph), except that he designates himself as the transcriber by adding “da JGW.” There is considerable internal and external evidence then that Walther is the transcriber of the concerto and, by implication, the Aria as well. How Kellner might have acquired the manuscript, of course, is open to speculation but the fact that he made trips to Weimar does suggest that he and Walther were acquainted.



# APPENDIX

## CLEF USAGE IN THE AUTOGRAPHS AND ORIGINAL PRINTS OF BACH'S KEYBOARD MUSIC

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BWV	Title	Source	Date of Source	Clef
739 764	Two settings of "Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern"	P 488 (SPK)	ca. 1705	soprano, ex- cept for mm. 50-54, 66-72 of BWV 739 (treble)
535a	Prelude and Fugue in G Minor	Möller Manuscript (SPK)	ca. 1706-7	soprano
921	Prelude in C Minor	Andreas Bach Book* (MBLpz)	ca. 1707/8- ca. 1713	soprano
71/2 71/7	Aria and chorus from "Gott ist mein König"	P 45 (DSB) st 377 (DSB)	1708 1708	treble treble
599-612 614-44	<i>Orgelbüchlein</i>	P 283 (DSB)	1708-16	soprano
660a	"Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland"	P 271 (DSB)	1714-17	soprano
596	Concerto in D Minor after Vivaldi	P 330 (SPK)	1714-17	soprano, ex- cept for first movement (alto)
994	"Applicatio" in C Major	WFB	1720	soprano

BWV	Title	Source	Date of Source	Clef
924	Prelude in C Major	WFB	1720	soprano
691	"Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten"	WFB	1720	soprano
926	Prelude in D Minor	WFB	1720-21	soprano
753	"Jesu, meine Freude"	WFB	1720-21	soprano
836	Allemande in G Minor	WFB*	1720-21	treble
837	Allemande in G Minor	WFB*	1720-21	treble
930	Prelude in G Minor	WFB	1720-21	soprano
928	Prelude in F Major	WFB	1720-21	soprano
842	Minuet in G Minor	WFB*	1720-21	soprano
843	Minuet in G Major	WFB*	1720-21	soprano
1050	Brandenburg Con- certo V (early version)	St 130 (DSB)	1720-21	treble
1050	Brandenburg Con- certo V	Am. B. 78 (DSB)	1721	treble
846a-51 853-54	Well-Tempered Cla- vier I (early version of preludes)	WFB*	1721-23	soprano
846-69	Well-Tempered Cla- vier I	P 415 (DSB)	1722	soprano
573	Fantasy in C Major	AMB I	1722-23	treble
991	Air with Variations in C Minor	AMB I	1722-23	treble
728	"Jesu, meine Zuver- sicht"	AMB I	1722-23	soprano
772-801	Inventions and Sin- fonias (early versions)	WFB*	1722-23	soprano
812-16	French Suites I-V	AMB I	1722-24	soprano
772-801	Inventions and Sin- fonias	P 610 (DSB)	1723	soprano

BWV	Title	Source	Date of Source	Clef
808/1	Prelude from English Suite III	P 1072* (SPK)	1724–25	treble
562/1	Fantasy in C Minor	P 490 (SPK)	1724– ca. 1745	soprano
953	Fugue in C Major	WFB	1724 at the earliest	soprano
1019/ 3–5	Last three movements from the Sonata in G Major for Violin and Obbligato Harpsichord	st 162 (DSB)	1725	treble
827	Partita III (early version)	AMB II	1725	soprano
830	Partita VI (early version)	AMB II	1725	soprano
170/3 170/5	Arias from “Vergnügte Ruh, beliebte Seelenlust”	P 154 (SPK)	1726	treble
35/1 35/4 35/5	Arias and sinfonias from “Geist und Seele wird verwirret”	P 86 (SPK)	1726	treble, except for BWV 35/4 (bass)
27/3	Aria from “Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende”	P 164 (SPK)	1726	treble
47/2	Aria from “Wer sich selbst erhöht, der soll erniedriget werden”	P 163 (DSB)	1726	treble
169/1 169/3 169/5	Sinfonia and arias from “Gott soll allein mein Herze haben”	P 93 (SPK)	1726	treble
825	Partita I	original print	1726	treble

BWV	Title	Source	Date of Source	Clef
49/1 49/2 49/6	Sinfonia and arias from "Ich geh und suche mit Verlangen"	P 111 (DSB)	1726	treble
826	Partita II	original print	1727	treble
827	Partita III	original print	1727	treble
544	Prelude and Fugue in B Minor	privately owned holo- graph	1727-32	treble
548	Prelude and Fugue in E Minor	P 274* (SPK)	1727-32	treble
828	Partita IV	original print	1728	treble
188/3	Aria from "Ich habe meine Zuversicht"	P 972 (DSB)	ca. 1728	treble
120a/4	Sinfonia from "Herr Gott, Beherrscher aller Dinge"	P 670 (SPK)	ca. 1729	treble
906/1	Fantasy in C Minor	holograph owned by the Bethle- hem (Penn.) Bach Choir	ca. 1729	treble
63/3	Aria from "Christen, ätzet diesen Tag"	st 9 (SPK)	1729?	treble
829	Partita V	original print	1730	treble
830	Partita VI	original print	1730	treble
525-30	Trio Sonatas for Organ	P 271 (DSB)	ca. 1730	treble



BWV	Title	Source	Date of Source	Clef
825-30	Partitas I-VI	original print of <i>Clavierübung</i> I	1731	treble
29/1	Sinfonia and aria from "Wir danken dir, Gott, wir danken dir"	P 166 (DSB)	1731	treble
29/7		st 106* (SPK)	1731	treble
245/31	"Arioso" from the St. John Passion (Version 3)	st 111 (DSB)	1732	soprano
73/1	Chorus from "Herr, wie du willst, so schicke mit mir"	st 45 (SPK)	1732-35	treble
541	Prelude and Fugue in G Major	N. Mus. ms. 378 (SPK)	ca. 1733	treble
971	Italian Concerto	original print of <i>Clavierübung</i> II	1735	treble, except for Gavotte II (alto), Passepied II (soprano), and Bourrée II (soprano) from BWV 831
831	French Overture			
244/1	Choruses from the St. Matthew Passion	P 25 (DSB)	1736	treble
244/35				
1062	Concerto in C Minor for Two Harpsichords	P 612 (DSB)	ca. 1736-37	treble
1032	Sonata in A Major for Flute and Obligato Harpsichord	P 612 (DSB)	ca. 1736-37	soprano
1030	Sonata in B Minor for Flute and Obligato Harpsichord	P 975 (DSB)	ca. 1736-37	treble
906	Fantasy and Fugue in	Mus. 2405-	ca. 1738	soprano

BWV	Title	Source	Date of Source	Clef
	C Minor	T-52 (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek)		
1052-59	Harpsichord Concertos	P 234 (DSB)	ca. 1738	treble
552 669-89 802-5	<i>Clavierübung</i> III	original print	1739	treble
1055	Concerto in A Major for Harpsichord	st 127 (Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska)	ca. 1739	treble
1057	Concerto in F Major for Harpsichord	st 129 (DSB)	ca. 1739	treble
651-63	Chorales from the "Great Eighteen"	P 271 (DSB)	ca. 1739-42	soprano, except for BWV 655, 658, 659, 661, 663 (treble)
870-93	Well-Tempered Clavier II	Add. ms. 35021* (London, British Library)	ca. 1739-42	soprano, except for BWV 870, 886 (treble)
613 deest	Two chorales from the <i>Orgelbüchlein</i> : "Helft mir Gottes Güte preisen" (BWV 613) and "O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid" (BWV deest)	P 283 (DSB)	ca. 1740	soprano
998	Prelude, Fugue, and Allegro in E-flat Major (for lute or harpsichord)	privately owned holograph	1740-45	soprano

BWV	Title	Source	Date of Source	Clef
988	Goldberg Variations	original print	1741	treble
1027	Sonata in G Major for Viola da gamba and Obligato Harpsichord	P 226 (DSB)	ca. 1742	treble
1080	Art of Fugue (early version)	P 200 (DSB)	ca. 1742–49	soprano, except for movements 13, 14, 18 (Clavier 1 only) (treble)
886/2	Fugue in A-flat Major from the Well-Tempered Clavier II	P 274 (SPK)	ca. 1743–ca. 1746	treble
1025	Suite in A Major for Violin and Obligato Harpsichord	P 226* (DSB)	ca. 1744/46–49	treble
664–65	Two chorales from the "Great Eighteen": "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr" (BWV 664) and "Jesus Christus, unser Heiland" (BWV 665)	P 271 (DSB)	1746–47	treble (BWV 664) and soprano (BWV 665)
1079/5	Six-voice ricercar from the Musical Offering	P 226 (DSB)	1747	treble
1079	Musical Offering	original print	1747	treble
562/2	Fugue in C Minor	P 490 (SPK)	1747–48	soprano
769	Canonic Variations on "Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her"	original print P 271 (DSB)	1747 1747–48	soprano soprano
645–50	"Schübler" Chorales	original print	1747–48	soprano (BWV 647–49), tre-

BWV	Title	Source	Date of Source	Clef
				ble (BWV 646, 650), and alto (BWV 645)
245/31	"Arioso" from the St. John Passion (Version 4)	st 111 (DSB)	1749	soprano
1080	Art of Fugue	original print	1751	soprano, except for movements 13, 14, 18 (Clavier 1 only) (treble)

*Key to Source Abbreviations:* WFB (*Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach* [Library of the School of Music, Yale University, no shelf number]), AMB I (first *Clavier-Büchlein* for Anna Magdalena Bach = P 224 [DSB]), and AMB II (second *Clavier-Büchlein* for Anna Magdalena Bach = P 225 [SPK]).

\*Partial autograph, i.e., a manuscript in which Bach's hand appears alongside another scribe's.



## NOTES

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### I INTRODUCTION

- 1 See the entry on "Reception" in the *New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, ed. Don Michael Randel (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986), 682.
- 2 Christoph Wolff et al., *The New Grove Bach Family* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983), 167–68.
- 3 See *BDok*, II, no. 83. English translation from *BR*, 228–29.
- 4 Cantata 21, "Ich hatte viel Bekümmerniss." See *BDok*, II, no. 200; and *BR*, 229.
- 5 See, for example, Alfred Dürr, "Heinrich Nicolaus Gerber als Schüler Bachs," *BJ* 64 (1978): 7–18.
- 6 See Ludwig Finscher's comments in "Bach im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin: Jahrbuch 1984–85*, ed. Peter Wapnewski (Berlin: Siedler-Verlag, 1986), 259–76, now available in English translation as "Bach in the Eighteenth Century," in *Bach Studies*, ed. Don O. Franklin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 281–96.
- 7 Although two copies of the Fugue in G Minor (BWV 542/2) carry the inscription that it is Bach's "very best pedal piece." See *NBA*, IV/5–6, KB, 58, 146.
- 8 See Finscher, "Bach im 18. Jahrhundert"; and Gerhard Herz, *Joh. Seb. Bach im Zeitalter des Rationalismus und der Frühromantik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1935; reprint, Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat, 1985), now available in English translation in Herz's *Essays on J. S. Bach* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1985).
- 9 Performances of the vocal music outside of Leipzig during Bach's lifetime were even rarer, for it almost never circulated outside the city. This lack of circulation is difficult to account for, considering the wide dissemination of the keyboard works throughout the eighteenth century. Many a church musician could have benefited from having a Bach cantata in his library, despite the time and effort required to copy one.
- 10 Although we do know for sure that Christian moved in with his brother in 1750, there is no documentary evidence that he brought his father's manuscripts along. It is therefore possible that Christian, who was only fifteen years old in 1750, left his inheritance with his mother Anna Magdalena in Leipzig for safekeeping during his stay in Berlin.

- 11 For an inventory, see Eva Renate Blechschmidt, *Die Amalien-Bibliothek: Musikbibliothek der Prinzessin Anna Amalia von Preussen (1723–1787)* (Berlin: Verlag Merseburger, 1965).
- 12 Gräfenroda, for example, where Kellner spent most of his life, had a population of only 579 in 1769. See Artur Nüchter, "Gräfenroda zur Zeit Joh. Peter Kellners (1705–1772)," in *Gedenkschrift anlässlich der Johann Peter Kellner-Festwoche in Gräfenroda* (Gräfenroda: Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands, 1955), 23–30.
- 13 For a more or less complete list, see Hans Löffler, "Bachs Schüler in Thüringen," in *Johann Sebastian Bach in Thüringen*, eds. Heinrich Bessler and Günter Kraft (Weimar: Thüringer Volksverlag, 1950), 175–82.
- 14 See Robert Stephen Hill, "The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book: Two Keyboard Anthologies from the Circle of the Young Johann Sebastian Bach" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1987), 132; and Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Studien zur Bach-Überlieferung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1984), 30–56.
- 15 See Hermann Zietz, *Quellenkritische Untersuchungen an den Bach-Handschriften P 801, P 802, und P 803 aus dem Krebschen Nachlass unter Berücksichtigung der Choralbearbeitungen des jungen Bach* (Hamburg: K. D. Wagner Verlag, 1969).
- 16 According to Schulze, *Studien*, 59–68, certain Vogler copies date from the 1720s.
- 17 See Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Der Gehrener Kantor Johann Christoph Bach (1673–1727) und seine Sammelbände mit Musik für Tasteninstrumente," in *Bachiana et Alia Musicologica: Festschrift Alfred Dürr zum 65. Geburtstag am 3. März 1983*, ed. Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983), 168–77.
- 18 See Schulze, *Studien*, 56–59.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 69–88.
- 20 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 208–17.
- 21 Walther, for instance, in his *Musicalisches Lexikon* of 1732, makes a general reference to Bach's "excellent clavier works." See BDok, II, no. 323; and BR, 46. A similar encomium by Kellner will be quoted in the next chapter.
- 22 See George Stauffer, "Fugue Types in Bach's Free Organ Works," in *J. S. Bach as Organist: His Instruments, Music, and Performance Practices*, eds. George Stauffer and Ernest May (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 133–56.
- 23 See David Humphreys, "Did J. S. Bach Compose the F minor Prelude and Fugue BWV 534?" in *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti: Tercentenary Essays*, ed. Peter Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 173–84.

## II THE SCRIBES AND THE SOURCES

- 1 My discussion of Kellner's life is based on the following: (1) his autobiography of 1754, published in Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg, *Historische-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, 5 vols. (Berlin: J. J. Schützen and G. A. Lange, 1754–78; reprint, Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1970), 1:439–45, and published in an essentially identical version in Johann Georg Brückner, *Sammlung verschiedener Nachrichten zu einer Beschreibung des Kirchen- und Schulenstaats im Herzogthum Gotha*, 3 vols. (Gotha: C. Mevius, 1754–61), 2/vi:82–85; (2) Manfred Fechner, "Die Klavier- und Orgelwerke Johann Peter Kellners" (unpublished *Diplomarbeit*: Leipzig, 1965), 5–14; and (3) Hans Löffler's unpublished notes on Bach's students, which, as of 1984, were housed in the former Bach-Archiv, Leipzig. The version of Kellner's autobiography found in Marburg is also published in

- Willi Kahl, *Selbstbiographien deutscher Musiker des XVIII. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Staufien Verlag, 1948; reprint, Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1970), 92–98. For excerpts from the versions found in both Marpurg and Brückner, see *BDok*, III, no. 663; and *BR*, 389–90.
- 2 Tributes to Kellner's organ playing are found in Jakob Adlung, *Anleitung zu der musikalischen Gelaehrtheit* (Erfurt: J. D. Jungnicol, 1758; reprint, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953), 714; Brückner, *Sammlung*, 2/vi:86; and Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: J. G. I. Breitkopf, 1790–92; reprint, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1977), 1, cols. 715–16.
  - 3 J. C. Kellner writes in a letter of 21 January 1803 (probably to the publishing firm of Hoffmeister & Kühnel): "Die Orgel und Claviermusik von S. Bach besitzt ich alle von meinem Vater in Manuscript, den dieser war ein guter Freund von Seb. Bach und hatte sich dessen Compositionen alle angeschafft. . . ." See *NBA*, IV/5–6, KB, 197; and Georg Kinsky, *Die Originalausgaben der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Vienna: H. Reichner Verlag, 1937; reprint, Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1968), 111–12 n. 166. For Hiller's report, see *BDok*, III, no. 959.
  - 4 *BR*, 389–90.
  - 5 This is the copy of the Prelude and Fugue in E Minor (BWV 548) in P 274/2. See *NBA*, IV/5–6, KB, 30–33.
  - 6 This was reportedly the case with Bach and H. N. Gerber. See *BDok*, III, no. 950; and *BR*, 263–65.
  - 7 See Percy M. Young, *The Bachs: 1500–1850* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970), 6. Like several other authors, Young claims that Bach visited Kellner's church in Gräfenroda and improvised a fugue on b–a–c–h at the organ (p. 140). But there is no documentary evidence that Bach ever set foot in the village. Young's claim is based on the following passage from the Kellner entry in Gerber's *Tonkünstler-Lexikon*: "Man erzählt die Anekdote von ihm: dass, als er gemerkt, dass Bach in die Kirche getreten sey, er auf der Orgel, das Thema zu einer Fuge intoniert, b,–a,–c,–h, und es nach seiner Manier, d. i. sehr künstlich, durchgeführt habe." Why Young concludes that the church in question was one in Gräfenroda instead of, say, one of Bach's churches in Leipzig—which seems to be just as good a possibility—is puzzling.
  - 8 See Günther Kraft, "Johann Peter Kellner und seine Zeit," in *Gedenkschrift anlässlich der Johann Peter Kellner-Festwoche*, 11–16, esp. 12. See also *BDok*, II, no. 1; and *BR*, 47.
  - 9 See Conrad Freyse, *Die Ohrdruffer Bache in der Silhouette* (Eisenach and Kassel: E. Röth-Verlag, 1957), 93.
  - 10 Vogler's copies are listed in Schulze, *Studien*, 60–61. It should be stated here that no autographs of Kellner's music appear to have survived. The manuscript containing a Kellner Prelude and Fugue in C Major (Dresden-Sächsische Landesbibliothek: Mus. 2969-T-4, dated 1739) and cited as a Kellner holograph in *NBA*, IV/5–6, KB, 196, is a copy by an anonymous scribe. (This source is reproduced in the *Gedenkschrift anlässlich der Johann Peter Kellner-Festwoche*, 17–19.) The putative autograph of an unspecified fugue cited in Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlicher Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 10 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900–1904), 5:342, is evidently no longer extant.
  - 11 Walther's copy is housed in the Gemeentemuseum (The Hague) under the shelf number, 4. G. 14. See *NBA*, IV/3, KB, 19–28.
  - 12 Stadtbibliothek Lübeck: Mus. U 212. For data on this source, see Klaus Beckmann, ed.

- Dietrich Buxtehude: *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1971–72), 2:156, 161.
- 13 For information on Walther's copy, see Zietz, *Quellenkritische*, 52, 210.
  - 14 Throughout this book, "exemplar" refers to the "master" manuscript or print from which a copy was prepared.
  - 15 See *BDok*, III, no. 661; and Johann Christoph Kellner's autobiography, published in Friedrich Wilhelm Strieder, *Grundlage zu einer Hessischen Gelehrten und Schriftsteller Geschichte*, 7 (Kassel: Cramerischer Buchladen, 1787): 41–48, esp. 41.
  - 16 Gerber's copy is contained in his *Orgelbuch*, presently housed in the Princeton University Library (AM 16915). See *NBA*, IV/2, KB, 51; and Dürr, "Heinrich Nicolaus Gerber," 10.
  - 17 See Kinsky, *Die Originalausgaben*, 57; and Wolfgang Wiemer, "Johann Heinrich Schübeler, der Stecher der Kunst der Fuge," *BJ* 65 (1979): 75–95.
  - 18 See Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel, A Documentary Biography* (London: A. and C. Black, 1955), 693, 696–98.
  - 19 See *NBA*, IV/5–6, KB, 198–204; Schulze, *Studien*, 78, 87; and Peter Krause, *Handschriften und ältere Drucke der Werke Georg Friedrich Händels in der Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig* (Leipzig: Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, 1966), 37–38. Johann Anton Gottfried Wechmar (1727–99), presumably another member of the Kellner circle, is apparently the scribe of two further copies of Handel keyboard works housed in the MBLpz. But Wechmar may well have prepared these manuscripts at some point after 1750. See Krause, *Handschriften*, 36–37.
  - 20 The Kellner copies are: (1) a copy of the Prelude in C-sharp Major (BWV 848/1) from book 1 of the Well-Tempered Clavier in ms. 8/16; (2) a copy of the Inventions and Sinfonias (BWV 772–801) in P 804/41; (3) a copy of the Sonatas and Partitas for Unaccompanied Violin (BWV 1001–6) in P 804/22; and (4) a copy of the Fugue in C Major (BWV 953) from the *Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach* in P 804/5.
  - 21 This is Kellner's copy of the Sonata in A Minor (BWV 967) in P 804/27 that was copied presumably from the Möller Manuscript. See Hill, "The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book," 364–67.
  - 22 See Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1873–80; 8th ed., Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1979), 2:729.
  - 23 It appears that Spitta based his view solely on a copy of the Prelude in C Minor (BWV 921), which he assumed to be in Schmidt's hand, and Spitta's assumption alone is evidently responsible for Schmidt's being tagged a "Bach pupil" in numerous publications, despite the fact that he was eleven years Bach's senior. But it now seems that the scribe is the Harzgerode organist J. C. Schmidt, effectively removing the only putative link between Bach and the Zella Schmidt. See Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2:718; and Hans Löffler, "Die Schüler Joh. Seb. Bachs," *BJ* 40 (1953): 5–28. Georg Kinsky was the first to raise doubts about a relationship between Bach and the Zella Schmidt. See Kinsky, *Die Originalausgaben*, 55–56.
  - 24 There are two instances in which Kellner and Vogler Bach copies are concordant but in neither case can a direct relationship be shown. Their copies of the Prelude and Fugue in C Major (BWV 545)—in which the "Largo" from the Sonata in C Major (BWV 529) is inserted as a middle movement—and the Preludes and Fughettas in C Major, D Minor, and E Minor (BWV 870a, 899, 900) appear to derive independently from the same lost exemplars. See *NBA*, IV/5–6, KB, 303–6; and Werner Breckoff, *Zur Entste-*



hungsgeschichte des zweiten Wohltemperierten Klaviers von Johann Sebastian Bach (Tübingen: Fotodruck Präzis, 1965), 18–19. Schulze has speculated that Kellner prepared his copies of Bach concerto transcriptions from lost Vogler copies. See Schulze, *Studien*, 68 n. 238.

- 25 See Hill, "The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book," 378–81.
- 26 See Schulze, *Studien*, 54.
- 27 Ibid., 84; and Brückner, *Sammlung*, 1/iii: 225.
- 28 See Hill, "The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book," 378–79.
- 29 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 197; and Kinsky, *Die Originalausgaben*, 111–12 n. 166. For further discussion of the provenance and physical makeup of the Kellner-circle sources (including detailed inventories of their contents), see Russell Stinson, "The Bach Manuscripts of Johann Peter Kellner and his Circle" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1985), 17–212; Paul Kast, *Die Bach-Handschriften der Berliner Staatsbibliothek* (Trossingen: Hohner-Verlag, 1958); Peter Krause, *Handschriften der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs in der Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig* (Leipzig: Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, 1964); and various *Kritische Berichte* to the NBA, most importantly those to NBA, IV/5–6 and NBA, V/5.
- 30 P 804/13, one of the last items in table 1, contains, in addition to BWV 570 and BWV 563/1, Kellner's incomplete copy of Buxtehude's Prelude, Fugue, and Chaconne in C Major (BuxWV 137).
- 31 It will be observed that nowhere in table 1 is there mention of the Brussels manuscript of Bach's "Thorough Bass Treatise," a source formerly thought to be in Kellner's hand. It has recently been demonstrated that this manuscript does not stem from the Kellner circle at all but is in the hand of the St. Thomas's student, Carl August Thieme (1721–95). See Schulze, *Studien*, 125–27.
- 32 See F. C. Griepenkerl and Ferdinand Roitzsch, eds., *Johann Sebastian Bach's Kompositionen für die Orgel*, 9 vols. (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1844–81), prefaces to vols. 3, 4, 8; preface to Friedrich Conrad Griepenkerl, ed., *Concert für die Orgel mit zwei Manualen und dem Pedale von Wilhelm Friedemann Bach* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1844); and Carl Czerny, F. C. Griepenkerl, and Ferdinand Roitzsch, eds., *Klavierwerke von Joh. Seb. Bach*, 23 vols. (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1863–87?), preface to vol. 15.
- 33 Evidently with the same variant version of the prelude as the copy by Kellner and W. N. Mey in P 804/55. See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 176, 437, 723.
- 34 In the key of D minor. It would thus appear that Kellner's lost copy preserved the concluding movement of the early version of BWV 549, which is cited as BWV 549a in the NBA (the early version is not listed in the BWV itself). See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 318–22, 578–81.
- 35 According to NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 500, this "lost" copy is actually an extant manuscript in the hand of Anonymous Copyist 13 (which will be mentioned shortly). It seems just as possible, though, that a Kellner copy did exist at one time and that it served as the exemplar for Anonymous 13's copy.
- 36 According to BG, 15:xxv, Kellner prepared a copy of the Fugue in D Minor (BWV 539/2) that, seemingly, should be added to this list. But, as is argued in NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 353, the source in question must really be Kellner's copy of the fugue from the Sonata in G Minor for Unaccompanied Violin (BWV 1001) in P 804/22.
- 37 In addition to his Bach copies, Kellner is the scribe of the following: (1) a list of

- recommendations, dating presumably from 1744, for the organ of the village church in Geschwenda (St. Nicolai), presently housed in the church's archives; (2–3) two identical documents, dating from autumn 1747 at the earliest, detailing financial transactions of the Gräfenroda village church for the fiscal year 1746–47, housed today in the church's archives; and (4) Kellner's report of his examination of the newly built organ of the Michaeliskirche in Ohrdruf, dated 8 October 1760 (Staatsarchiv Gotha, Abteilung Hohenlohe-Archiv: Akte 2702). For particulars on these sources, see Stinson, "The Bach Manuscripts," 92–99.
- 38 According to Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs: Kompositions- und Aufführungstätigkeit von 1736 bis 1750," *BJ* 74 (1988): 7–72. The harpsichord solo part and portions of the first violin part (first eight systems of f. 2<sup>r</sup> and all of f. 4<sup>r</sup>) of st 125 are in Kellner's hand. The remainder is in the hand of Anonymous Copyist 16.
  - 39 Table 2 is based on the following: Breckoff, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte*, 18; Hill, "The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book," 305–12, 343–44, 362–67; Alfred Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Seine Handschrift–Abbild seines Schaffens* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1984), no. 39; Hans-Joachim Schulze, ed., *Johann Sebastian Bach: Fantasie und Fuge C-moll für Cembalo (BWV 906, facsimile edition)* (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1984), 6–7; NBA, IV/4, KB, 23–24; NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 35–40, 76, 315, 337–38, 397, 483–88, 710, 719, 727; NBA, V/1, KB, 35; and NBA, V/2, KB, 31, 39. The date of 1727–31 given for the exemplar of P 891 (autograph of the Prelude and Fugue in B Minor, BWV 544) in NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 37, has been amended in table 2 to 1727–32 in accordance with watermark data given in Kobayashi, "Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bach," 20.
  - 40 I would like to express appreciation here to Dr. Yoshitake Kobayashi for sharing with me his unpublished findings on the watermarks in P 804, as well as in mss. 1, 2, 3, 4, 8 (mb1p2). The identification and classification of the watermarks in these sources represent his research alone. See Stinson, "The Bach Manuscripts," 441–85, for tracings.
  - 41 See Wisso Weiss, "Papier und Wasserzeichen in der Notenhandschriften von Johann Sebastian Bach" (unpublished, n.d.), no. 1/32.
  - 42 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 199.
  - 43 See Weiss, "Papier und Wasserzeichen," no. 1/34.
  - 44 *Ibid.*, no. 1/2; and NBA, IX/1 (watermark catalog), no. 116.
  - 45 See NBA, IX/1, no. 125; and Schulze, *Studien*, 52–53.
  - 46 See, respectively, NBA, IX/1, no. 125; and Robert Michael Cammarota, "The Repertoire of Magnificats in Leipzig at the Time of J. S. Bach: A Study of the Manuscript Sources" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1986), 250–52.
  - 47 See Fritz Hennenberg, *Die Kantatenschaffen von Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1976), 198 n. 201.
  - 48 *Ibid.*, 197–98 n. 198.
  - 49 See NBA, I/40, KB, 187; NBA, VII/7, KB, 36–37; and Andreas Glöckner, "Neuerkenntnisse zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungskalender zwischen 1729 und 1735," *BJ* 67 (1981): 43–75, esp. 44–56, 72.
  - 50 See Krause, *Handschriften*, 29; and Schulze, *Studien*, 87.

- 51 See Edward Heawood, *Watermarks* (Hilversum: The Paper Publications Society, 1950), Pls. 2718–75; W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper* (Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1935), 93–118; and Weiss, “Papier und Wasserzeichen,” no. 2/58.
- 52 On Type S, see NBA, IX/1, no. 72. On Type T, see NBA, IX/1, no. 122; and Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs,” 20.
- 53 For detailed discussion of Kellner’s handwriting, as well as that of his students and scribes, see Stinson, “The Bach Manuscripts,” 92–213. Facsimiles of Kellner’s Bach copies are published in George B. Stauffer, “Bach’s Pastorale in F: A Closer Look at a Maligned Work,” *Organ Yearbook* 14 (1983): 44–60; Stauffer, “Bach as Reviser of his Own Keyboard Works,” *Early Music* 13 (1985): 185–98; Dmitry Markevitch, ed., *J. S. Bach: Six Suites for Cello* (Bryn Mawr, Penn.: Theodore Presser, 1964); *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Friedrich Blume, 14 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–68), 7, cols. 819–20; NBA, IV/3:vii; and NBA, V/10:x.
- 54 See H.-J. Schulze, ed., *Joh. Seb. Bach: Konzert D-moll für Cembalo und Streichorchester BWV 1052* (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1974), vii. Schulze proposes that st 125 was copied from Bach’s parts.
- 55 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 204.
- 56 See Freyse, *Die Ohrdruffer*, 109; Krause, *Handschriften*, 26; and NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 116–17, 119.
- 57 In P 804/16 (Partita III), Kellner entered the first three movements and Mey the remaining ones. In P 804/55 (BWV 535/1), Kellner is responsible for mm. 1–4 (through beat 3) and mm. 14–21 (beginning with beat 2 in m. 14) and Mey the remainder.
- 58 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 119, 206. Judging from the discussion on p. 206, the identification of the scribe on p. 119 as “J. P. Kellner (?)” is an oversight. According to my analysis of Mey’s handwriting, the copy dates from after 1727.
- 59 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 205–6.
- 60 The complete entry from Gerber’s *Tonkünstler Lexicon*, as well as other eighteenth-century biographical reports on Ringk, is found in NBA, I/40, KB, 11–12. See also NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 198.
- 61 According to NBA, I/40, KB, 11, Ringk studied with Kellner around 1729–30 and with Stölzel around 1738/40, but no indication is given as to how these dates were arrived at. According to BDok, III:716, it is documented that Ringk spent at least six years in Gotha. This documentation is evidently contained in a Gotha manuscript listed in Schulze, *Studien*, 84 n. 318.
- 62 See NBA, I/40, KB, 11–12.
- 63 See Schulze, *Studien*, 130; and BDok, III, no. 919.
- 64 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 199–205. For facsimiles of Ringk’s Bach copies, see NBA, I/40, vii; and Peter Williams, “BWV 565: A Toccata in D Minor for Organ by J. S. Bach?” *Early Music* 9 (1981): 330–37.
- 65 See Freyse, *Die Ohrdruffer*, 15; and NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 206.
- 66 This is also the conclusion reached in Krause, *Handschriften*, 24–28; and NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 206.
- 67 Wechmar’s Kellner copies are contained in MSS. 4/4, 4/6. See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 118–19.
- 68 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 206.
- 69 See Fechner, “Die Klavier- und Orgelwerke,” 11.

- 70 The Frischmuth work is a setting of "Jesu meine Freude" in MS. 4/5. See NBA, IV/5-6, KB, 118-19. Wechmar also owned a Bach copy by the scribe designated below as "Gutjahr," who probably had dealings with Kellner too.
- 71 See Schulze, *Studien*, 87.
- 72 Ibid., 78; and NBA, IV/5-6, KB, 94-95.
- 73 See Schulze, *Studien*, 79.
- 74 Ibid., 83-84.
- 75 See NBA, IV/5-6, KB, 207. Frischmuth is tagged "aus Gräfenroda" in Schulze, *Studien*, 155 n. 604.
- 76 In "The Performance of Triplets in the 17th and 18th Centuries," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19 (1966): 281-328, esp. 325 n. 52, Michael Collins gives the publication date of Frischmuth's harpsichord treatise *Gedagten over de beginselen en onderwyzingen des clavecimballs* (Amsterdam: A. Olofsen, n.d.; reprint, Amsterdam: A. J. Heuwekemeijer, 1970) as 1758. If this indeed is the publication date, it would seem that Frischmuth had settled in Amsterdam by 1758 since the treatise was published there. But there is no publication date in the treatise itself and Collins does not explain how he arrives at his dating. He may have relied on the *National Union Catalogue: Pre-1956 Imprints*, 753 vols. (London: Mansell, 1968-81), 186:238, which gives the publication date as "1758?"
- 77 This is also the conclusion reached in NBA, V/5, KB, 27; and NBA, IV/5-6, KB, 207.
- 78 Mus. MS. 11544/14 (SPK). See NBA, IV/5-6, KB, 94-96, 207.
- 79 P 804/8 carries an Arnstadt watermark. Although the paper manufacturer of MS. 1/10 has not been identified, its watermark (Type M) appears otherwise only in copies by Wechmar—who seems to have spent his whole life in Thuringia—and possibly in P 804/32.
- 80 See NBA, IV/5-6, KB, 116, 207; and Krause, *Handschriften*, 25.
- 81 See Freyse, *Die Ohrdruffer*, 104; and NBA, IV/5-6, KB, 207.
- 82 See Fechner, "Die Klavier- und Orgelwerke," 29-30.
- 83 The two W. F. Bach works—a Minuet in G Minor and "Presto" in D Minor—are listed as nos. 25.1 and 25.2, respectively, in Martin Falck, *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1913; 2d ed., Lindau: C. F. Kahnt, 1956). The Presto is listed in the BWV (by virtue of its inclusion in P 804?) as BWV 970.
- 84 Eichberg's dating of the BWV 821 copy to 1720-40 is not supported by documentary evidence. See Hartwig Eichberg, "Unechtes unter Bachs Klavierwerken," *BJ* 61 (1975): 7-49, esp. 47.
- 85 Anonymous 2 began the copy of BWV 974, with Anonymous 3 taking over on f.2v, third system, m. 3, beat two.
- 86 The other two clefs are an alto clef and bass clef on the seventh system.
- 87 The notion that the principal scribe of P 804/4 is also the copyist of P 425/2 might be questioned in view of the discrepancies between the clefs, directs, and half notes. But the similarities between other symbols (quarter rests, upward-stem sixteenths, and stave braces) as well as overall layout (especially the peculiar practice of never attaching more than one notehead to a stem, which often causes alignment problems in chordal passages) permits no other conclusion.
- 88 I also searched unsuccessfully for one of Kellner's acquaintances with the initials "AE"



or "EA" since, according to NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 207, the monogram could be construed as "EA."

- 89 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 26–34; and Kast, *Die Bach-Handschriften*, 48–49.
- 90 In P 804/30, a copy of the Prelude and Fugue in A Major (BWV 536), Kellner copied the prelude and Anonymous 5 the fugue; in P 286/5, a copy of the Toccata, Adagio, and Fugue in C Major (BWV 564), Anonymous 5 is responsible for pp. 35–39, Kellner for pp. 40–42 and all movement headings.
- 91 Kellner's portions of this copy are redolent of J. S. Bach's participation in copies by W. F. Bach in the *Clavierbüchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach* (Yale University Library of the School of Music). He started Anonymous 5 off by entering the initial clefs, key signature, and time signature.
- 92 Curiously, Kobayashi dates P 804/9 (which he assigns to Kellner) to ca. 1740, without providing any chronological evidence. See Kobayashi, "Der Gehrere Kantor Johann Christoph Bach," 173.
- 93 Sections 1, 2, 4, 6 of the copy of the D-major Toccata = BWV 912; sections 3, 5 = BWV 912a.
- 94 Anonymous 13 completed Kellner's copy of the F-minor Sinfonia on p. 302 of P 804/41, beginning with the last measure of the fourth system.
- 95 This discussion of Johann Christoph's life is based on his autobiography.
- 96 None of J. C. or J. P. Kellner's church cantatas has been published, but there are numerous surviving manuscripts of sacred cantatas evidently composed by either the father or the son (or perhaps both) in the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main and the SPK. While one of these sources names "J. Ch. Kellner" as the composer, the attribution found in the others is merely "Kellner." It is therefore impossible to know to what extent these works are by the father or by the son (or by other musicians with the surname Kellner?). See Joachim Schlichte, *Thematischer Katalog der kirchlichen Musikhandschriften des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in der Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 1979), 96–105; and Fechner, "Die Klavier- und Orgelwerke," 111.
- 97 While in Amsterdam, Frischmuth and the printer Olofsen encouraged Christoph to publish two of his keyboard sonatas and in 1763 two such works by Christoph appeared in an Olofsen print.
- 98 The Bach pupil J. C. Kittel also chose such works by J. P. Kellner for his beginning organ students. See *BDok*, III, no. 913. We learn from Christoph's autobiography that obligato pedal pieces—and Bach fugues in particular—did not come easy to him: "Das obligate Pedal machte mir, so wie jedem ersten Anfänger, unsägliche Mühe. Oft lernte ich 14 Tage, 3 Wochen an einer Bachischen Fuge, freylich bisweilen nicht ganz ohne Unwillen, weil erst reifere Jahre von dieser Mühe den Nutzen mir zeigten." See *BDok*, III, no. 921. His father taught him harpsichord works by C. P. E. Bach, which the father may have gained access to through Benda, who served alongside C. P. E. Bach in Berlin before relocating to Gotha.
- 99 Of the sources that mention Rembt's interest in old organ music, the most detailed discussion is found in his obituary, published in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 12 (1809–10): 734–36.
- 100 See Harry Joelsson-Strohbach, "Nachricht von verschiedenen verloren geglaubten

- Handschriften mit barocker Tastenmusik" *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 44 (1987): 91–140, esp. 111–14. A facsimile of one of Rembt's Georg Böhm copies is found on p. 131 of this article.
- 101 It is unclear how Rembt gained access to these sources (it was certainly not through Walther himself, who died before Rembt was born).
  - 102 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 197.
  - 103 For a list of other musicians with the surname Kellner, including the thorough-bass author David Kellner (ca. 1670–1748), whose relationship to Peter is unclear, see Eitner, *Biographisch*, 5:340–43. Not listed in Eitner is Christiane Pauline Kellner who, according to Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 1:561, may have sung the role of Diana when Bach's "Hunting Cantata" (BWV 208) was premiered at Weissenfels. For further data on Pauline Kellner, see Christiane Engelbrecht, "Die Hofkapelle des Landgrafen Carl von Hessen-Kassel," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde* 68 (1957): 141–73, esp. 163–64; and Eva-Maria Ranft, "Zum Personalbestand der Weissenfelder Hofkapelle," *Beiträge zur Bach Forschung* 6 (1988): 5–36, esp. 20–21.
  - 104 The possibility that Andreas was Johann Peter's son can be ruled out since the latter married his first wife on 14 May 1726. See Fechner, "Die Klavier- und Orgelwerke," 9.
  - 105 See Schulze, *Studien*, 152 n. 593; and NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 240. Perhaps, then, Andreas was also the owner of st 125 (the Kellner-circle parts to BWV 1052), a source that came into the possession of Christian's father Johann Christoph Westphal (1727–99) no later than 1777. See Schulze's edition of BWV 1052, p. vi. If so, it would seem that the fascicles from P 286, P 287, and P 288 were passed from Westphal, senior, to his son.
  - 106 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 56, 197, 239–40.
  - 107 See Schulze, *Studien*, 84 n. 316; and Brückner, *Sammlung*, 1/vii: 56–57. Considering that Baumbach was in his early teens when he studied under Kellner, it is tempting to identify him with Anonymous 5, whose unwieldy script seems to betray a young and/or inexperienced hand.
  - 108 See the copies of the violin sonatas and partitas in P 804/22 and the copy of the cello suites in P 804/40. (All of the leaves except the outer bifolio of the copy of the cello suites seem to date from early 1726; the present outer bifolio is obviously a replacement for the original one.)
  - 109 According to Schulze, *Studien*, 117 n. 471.
  - 110 Ibid.
  - 111 Werner Neumann has gone so far as to suggest that it was performed at Kellner's wedding with Martha Franck (1703–58) on 14 May 1726. See NBA, I/40, KB, 15.
  - 112 We do know that Ringk owned one of Kellner's Bach copies, that of Partita I (P 574). See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 201.
  - 113 On BWV 541, see NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 202–3, 429–30, 722.
  - 114 See Schulze, *Studien*, 130; and BDok, III, no. 919.
  - 115 See Schulze, *Studien*, 83–84; and Brückner, *Sammlung*, 1/iii: 225.
  - 116 See Schulze, *Studien*, 84; and Brückner, *Sammlung*, 2/v: 75.
  - 117 Gressler's autobiography is published in Brückner, *Sammlung*, 3/vii: 70–71.
  - 118 See Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1812–14; reprint, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1966), 4, cols. 52–53.
  - 119 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 339.
  - 120 BWV 579 and BWV 950 are contained in two Kellner-circle copies each (P 804/10 and ms.

- 1/13, and P 804/51 and P 595/3, respectively), while all three of the surviving sources for BWV 955 are from the Kellner circle (P 804/17, P 425/2, and P 595/9). The BWV does not place BWV 946 among Bach's fugues on themes by other composers but its subject is clearly based on that of the last movement of Albinoni's Op. 1, No. 12 trio sonata. See *The New Grove Bach Family*, 208; Hill, "The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book," 442–44; and Michael Talbot, *Albinoni: Leben und Werk* (Adliswil: Edition Kunzelmann, 1980), 87. According to Hill, 444–47, the Fugue in A Major (BWV 949) should be added to this group as it is based on Albinoni's Op. 1, No. 7 trio sonata. This Bach work also survives in a Kellner-circle manuscript (Mey's copy in P 804/37).
- 121 Concerning the instrumentation of these pieces, see Robert L. Marshall, "Organ or 'Klavier'? Instrumental Prescriptions in the Sources of Bach's Keyboard Works," in Stauffer and May, eds., *J. S. Bach as Organist*, 212–39.
- 122 The long-held notion that BWV 967 is a transcription is challenged in Hill, "The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book," 448–58.
- 123 See Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980–84), 2:78, 157–58.
- 124 See Löffler, "Die Schüler Joh. Seb. Bachs," 26; and Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, *Quellenkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik für Tasteninstrumente in der 2. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1960), 99–100 n. 303.
- 125 See Riedel, *Quellenkundliche*, 100 n. 303. While it is certainly conceivable that J. C. Kellner put Bach manuscripts at Becker's disposal (and vice versa), in the case of BWV 547 and BWV 548 Becker seems to have copied from manuscripts owned by Forkel. See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 315, 397–98, 719.
- 126 See Schulze, *Studien*, 152.
- 127 One wonders if Rembt was Hiller's source for his claim (1791) that Kellner was a Bach pupil. See BDok, III, no. 959.
- 128 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 146.

### III KELLNER'S RELIABILITY AS A SCRIBE

- 1 Issued in facsimile as *Johann Sebastian Bach: Sonaten und Partiten für Violine allein*, ed. Günter Hausswald (Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1962; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1982).
- 2 For detailed listings of discrepancies among the sources, see NBA, VI/1, KB, 35–117.
- 3 According to NBA, VI/1, KB, 34–35, the fragmentary state of Kellner's copy as well as its ordering shows that it was prepared from copies of individual works rather than a copy of the entire collection.
- 4 Helmut Braunlich, "Johann Peter Kellner's Copy of the Sonatas and Partitas for Violin Solo by J. S. Bach," *Bach* (Quarterly Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute) 12, no. 2 (April 1981): 2–10.
- 5 See NBA, VI/1, KB, 28–29.
- 6 Despite the claim made in BR, 390, that his copies "invariably rank among the most accurate."
- 7 Earning for him, as early as the first half of the nineteenth century, the reputation of (in Griepenkerl's words) "ein sehr nachlässiger Abschreiber." See BG, 45/1:lv.
- 8 As witnessed in his copies of the Fantasy in C Major (BWV 570) in P 804/13 and Aria

- Variata (BWV 989) in F 804/21. See, respectively, NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 498; and NBA, V/10, KB, 46.
- 9 See Georg von Dadelsen and Klaus Röhnau, eds., *Joh. Seb. Bach: Fantasien, Präludien und Fugen* (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1970), 142.
  - 10 See Harald Vogel, "North German Organ Building of the Late Seventeenth Century: Registration and Tuning," in Stauffer and May, eds., *J. S. Bach as Organist*, 31–47. No information exists on the tuning of any of the organs Kellner is known to have had access to.
  - 11 See NBA, IV/8, KB, 44–45, 49–50.
  - 12 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 284–85; and Hill, "The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book," 290–95. For a somewhat more charitable view of this variant, see Stauffer, "Bach as Reviser of his Own Keyboard Works," 195–96.
  - 13 The Krebs copy omits Variation 9 too, but gives the variations in the same sequence as all the other sources. See NBA, V/10, KB, 40–52, esp. 43–47.
  - 14 Kellner's copies of BWV 594 and BWV 531 evidently served as exemplars for copies in F 286. See, respectively, NBA, IV/8, KB, 46; and NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 54.
  - 15 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 81, 88, 416–26, esp. 421–22; and Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 1:176.
  - 16 Johann Christoph makes only the following statement about his father's violin playing, apropos of his own desire to learn the instrument: "Mein Vater, der den Nutzen der praktischen Kenntnisse dieses Instruments für einen künftigen Tonsetzer kannte, stimmte sehr gern mit meiner Neigung überein" (p. 43).
  - 17 In Johann Christoph's case this is clear from his autobiography. Concerning the other three students—Kirnberger, Scherlitz, and Gressler—see, respectively, *BDok*, III, no. 661; Gerber, *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, 4:52–53; and Brückner, *Sammlung*, 3/vii: 70–71.
  - 18 See BG, 27:xxxiv.
  - 19 For a version of the fifth suite with normal tuning that clearly shows these necessary alterations, see Hugo Becker, ed., *J. S. Bach: Six Suites for Cello Solo* (New York: International Music Company, 1946).
  - 20 Frischmuth's harpsichord arrangements of six Tartini violin concertos were published under the title *VI Concerti del Sigr Tartini accommodati per il Cembalo da L. Frischmuth in Amsterdamo* (n.d.). See Minos Dounias, *Die Violinkonzerte Giuseppe Tartinis* (Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer Verlag, 1935; reprint, Wolfenbüttel: Mösel Verlag, 1966), 198; and Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, *Einzeldrucke vor 1800*, eds. Otto E. Albrecht and Karlheinz Schlager, 9 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971–81), 3:123. According to his obituary, Rembt arranged unspecified string quartets by Mozart and Haydn for the organ, but these transcriptions have apparently not survived.
- Johannes Ringk's copy of the Toccata in D Minor (BWV 565) in F 595/8 should also be mentioned in this context. Peter Williams has advanced the plausible hypothesis that this work represents an organ transcription (not necessarily by Bach) of an unaccompanied violin piece (not necessarily by Bach either). See his "BWV 565: A Toccata in D Minor for Organ by J. S. Bach?" and Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 1:214–21. Since Ringk's copy is the earliest surviving source, the possibility arises that he is also the transcriber.
- 21 It should also be stated here that nowhere in Kellner's copy of the sixth suite (D major)



is there any indication, like there is in Anna Magdalena's copy (SPK, P 269), that the work was written for an instrument with five strings, implying a lackadaisical attitude toward performance medium and further substantiating the view that he copied the cello suites for reasons other than cello performance.

- 22 The only exceptions I am aware of are the opening section of the Fantasy in G Major (BWV 572) and the Prelude in E Minor (BWV 533/1), whose early versions are, respectively, one and two bars longer than their revised forms. On BWV 572, see NBA, IV/7; on BWV 533/1, see NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 382–83.
- 23 For the sake of convenience, the bar numbers here correspond to those in NBA, VI/1, even though it curiously counts the first two beats of the movement as bar one.
- 24 See mm. 24–25, 36–37, 68–69, 84–85, 88–89, 96–97, 108–9, 116–17, 124–25, 128–29, 160–61, 164–65, 168–69, 172–73, 180–81, 200–201, 204–5, 215–16.
- 25 See Andreas Moser, "Zu Joh. Seb. Bachs Sonaten und Partiten für Violine allein," *BJ* 17 (1920): 30–65, esp. 35 n. 1.
- 26 See David D. Boyden, *The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1760* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 439 n. 19. Had Kellner realized that mm. 35–41 were meant to be arpeggiated, perhaps because of an *arpeggio* inscription in his exemplar, one could easily suppose that he intentionally omitted the passage and inserted his own material to bridge from m. 34 to m. 42. But it appears doubtful that Bach intended this passage to be arpeggiated since he does not indicate any kind of arpeggiation in the autograph (nor is arpeggiation prescribed in any of the other sources for the movement). It seems unlikely that Bach would have omitted such an important indication—in what is undoubtedly one of his most meticulously prepared holographs—when he provides such detailed indications for the *arpeggiando* passages from the Chaconne.
- 27 See Braunlich, "Johann Peter Kellner's Copy of the Sonatas and Partitas for Violin Solo by J. S. Bach," 4.
- 28 While Kellner's copy gives C for both fugues, the autograph gives ♯.

#### IV KELLNER AS COPYIST AND TRANSCRIBER?

- 1 The most thoroughgoing discussion of the unpublished transcriptions to date is a two-paragraph commentary in Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 1:331–32. BWV 1027a is also the only one of the three arrangements that has been published. See vol. 9 (revised version) of *Johann Sebastian Bach's Kompositionen für die Orgel*, ed. Max Seiffert (1904); and vol. 6 of *Johann Sebastian Bach: Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, ed. Heinz Lohmann (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1968). All three arrangements will be included in my forthcoming edition, *Keyboard Transcriptions from the Bach Circle*, to be published by A-R Editions, Inc. (Madison, Wis.). This edition will also contain Frischmuth's Tartini transcriptions and the following works to be mentioned later: an organ-trio arrangement of the Sinfonia in D Minor (BWV 790) in MS. 1/10; what is apparently an organ-trio arrangement of a lost Locatelli trio in MS. S x 11 (MBLp2); and an organ transcription of a Telemann concerto in P 804/6.
- 2 See NBA, IX/1, no. 62.
- 3 See NBA, VI/3, KB, 48–49.
- 4 See Kobayashi, "Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs," 50.
- 5 See, for example, BG, 9: xxii, xv; Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 1:725; and BWV, p. 579.

- 6 See Ulrich Siegele, "Kompositionsweise und Bearbeitungstechnik in der Instrumentalmusik Johann Sebastian Bachs" (diss., University of Tübingen, 1957), published under the same title by Hänssler (Stuttgart), 1975. See pp. 52–74 of the published version.
- 7 Bach also used French violin clef for oboe d'amore in certain cases. See Kobayashi, "Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs," 8 n. 7.
- 8 The spurious nature of the figured bass had been pointed out twenty years earlier by Ludwig Landshoff. See the preface to Landshoff's edition, *J. S. Bach: Trio Sonaten* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1936–37).
- 9 See first movement, mm. 4, 6–7, 20–22; second movement, mm. 6–10, 12–14, 84–85, 96–97; and fourth movement, mm. 46–47, 90–93, 115–19.
- 10 See Hans Eppstein, "J. S. Bachs Triosonate G-dur (BWV 1039) und ihre Beziehung zur Sonate für Gambe und Cembalo G-dur (BWV 1027)," *Die Musikforschung* 18 (1965): 126–37. Material from this article also appears in Eppstein's monograph, *Studien über J. S. Bachs Sonaten für ein Melodieinstrument und obligates Cembalo* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1966), 71–75.
- 11 Siegele also mentioned these alterations but not in conjunction with his recorder-sonata theory.
- 12 The scribe of the continuo part, possibly a Bach pupil, may have been requested by Bach to invent the figured bass as a sort of composition exercise. This would have been in no way incongruous with what Bach's teaching methods seem to have been. For instance, Siegele (*Kompositionsweise*, 31–46), has argued convincingly that Bach instructed C. P. E. Bach to invent the upper parts to a given bass in the case of the Sonata in G Major for Flute, Violin, and Continuo (BWV 1038). It appears that the son's assignment was just the opposite with the C-major flute sonata (BWV 1033). See Robert L. Marshall, "J. S. Bach's Compositions for Solo Flute: A Reconsideration of their Authenticity and Chronology," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979): 463–98, esp. 465–71. More specifically related to our concerns, Marshall also maintains that the scribe of "Gib dich zufrieden" (BWV 510) in the second *Clavierbüchlein* for Anna Magdalena was "obviously a young pupil who was assigned the exercise of fitting a bass to a given melody." See Marshall's notes to the Nonesuch recording of *The Notebook for Anna Magdalena Bach* (DB-79020) (New York, 1981); and NBA, V/4, KB, 84–85. This copyist may have also penned the flute parts of st 431.
- 13 The scribe of the flute parts may have been accustomed to canceling sharps with flats and may have accidentally reverted to this technique in one instance, even though his exemplar used the more modern natural sign.
- 14 Eppstein attacked Siegele's transposition hypothesis by enumerating other instances in Bach's instrumental music where the continuo descends below C. One such case occurs in the E-minor flute sonata (BWV 1034) which contains a BB. Its highest flute pitch is a stratospheric g<sup>'''</sup>, rendering the possibility of its having been transposed down very unlikely.
- 15 See Eppstein, "J. S. Bachs Triosonate G-dur," 131–32.
- 16 The excerpt from BWV 1039 in example 2 does not agree with the reading found in BG, 9, which prints a dotted quarter for the last three beats of m. 6. st 431, however, clearly gives an eighth and quarter here, the reading also adopted in NBA, VI/3.
- 17 Pointed out in NBA, VI/3, KB, 50 n. 13.

- 18 Included in Georg Feder, ed., *Johann Peter Kellner: Ausgewählte Orgelwerke* (Lippstadt: Kistner & Siegel, 1958).
- 19 See Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 1:320.
- 20 The organ trio is listed as TWV Anh. 33:5 in the TWV.
- 21 TWV Anh. 33:4. See also NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 116–17; and Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 1:14–15. Mention should also be made of Wechmar's copy in ms. 1 of a trio sonata by Stölzel that bears the title *Sonata ex F mol. / a 2 Clavier / et Pedal / di G. H. Stölzel // JAG Wechmar*. Curiously, this version of the trio sonata does not differ at all from that for violins published as no. 133 in the series Nagels Musik-Archiv, ed. Helmuth Osthoff (Kassel: Nagels Verlag, 1937), which is virtually impossible to play on the organ because of excessive (both in quantity and quality) hand crossings and a pedal part that, besides calling for an *eb'*, frequently involves fast scalar figuration. So it seems inappropriate to label this organ trio as a "transcription," even though it does involve a change of medium. There is also a manuscript from the Amalienbibliothek (DSB) that scores this sonata for organ (in a version identical to that in Wechmar's copy) and upon which a recent edition of the work is based. See Christoph Albrecht, ed., *Orgeltrios des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1984).
- 22 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 60.
- 23 The statements at mm. 28–35 in the right-hand part of the organ transcription, Flute 1 of BWV 1039, and the upper harpsichord voice in BWV 1027 are in no way analogous. They are separated by cadential material (unrelated to the subject) at mm. 32–33, and the statement that begins in m. 33 inverts the subject, in addition to presenting only its first half.
- 24 All notes lower than C and higher than *c'* are avoided in the pedal part of the organ transcription.
- 25 These eight sources are: (1) a copy of the Prelude and Fugue in C Major (BWV 531) in P 286/2 prepared from Kellner's copy in P 274/3 (see NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 54); (2) a copy of the Concerto in C Major after Prince Johann Ernst (BWV 595) in P 286/6 prepared from a lost Kellner copy (see NBA, IV/8, KB, 75); (3) a copy of the Concerto in C Major after Vivaldi (BWV 594) in P 286/7 prepared from Kellner's copy, Inv. 5137 (see NBA, IV/8, KB, 46); (4) a copy of the Toccata and Fugue in D Minor (BWV 538) in P 286/14 prepared from a lost Kellner copy (see NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 372); (5) a copy of the Prelude and Fugue in E Minor (BWV 548) in P 287/2 prepared from Bach's and Kellner's copy in P 274/2 (see NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 397); (6) a copy of the Fugue in G Minor (BWV 578) in P 288/6 prepared from a lost Kellner copy (see NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 539); (7) a copy of the Prelude and Fugue in G Minor (BWV 535) in P 288/7 prepared from a lost Kellner copy (see NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 437); and (8) a copy of the Concerto in A Minor after Vivaldi (BWV 593) in P 288/14 prepared from a lost Kellner copy (see NBA, IV/8, KB, 35).
- 26 See Krause, *Handschriften*, 29–36; NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 120–21; and Schulze, *Studien*, 87.
- 27 See Eppstein, "J. S. Bachs Triosonate G-dur," 129, 132–33.
- 28 See Siegele, *Kompositionsweise*, 69–74.
- 29 This is also Hermann Keller's opinion. See his *Die Orgelwerke Bachs* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1948), 109.
- 30 Regarding pedal compass, notes below C and above *c'* are once again avoided. Both Seiffert and Lohmann print a *c#'* for the fourth beat of the pedal part in m. 55 of their editions. The ms. 7 copy, however, clearly reads *b* and there is no reason to question the

- reading on musical grounds. Furthermore, if the transcriber's pedalboard had extended to  $c\sharp'$ , he surely would have made the second half of m. 51 conform to that of mm. 49 and 53 by using four eighths in the order:  $b-c\sharp'-a-b$  (see example 14).
- 31 In addition to the fourth-movement transcription, ms. 7 contains a copy of the Trio in C Minor (BWV 585), an arrangement of the first two movements of a sonata for two violins and continuo by J. F. Fasch. ms. S x 11 (MBLpz) contains what is evidently an organ transcription of a trio by Pietro Locatelli, whose original version has not survived. ms. 7 also contains the Trio in G Major (BWV 586), which is evidently either a transcription of a Telemann trio or is merely based on a theme by Telemann. On BWV 585 and BWV 586, see Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 1:269–71.
- 32 See Krause, *Handschriften*, 37–38.

## V KELLNER'S COPIES AS KEYS TO BACH CHRONOLOGY

- 1 On the composition dates of Bach's solo keyboard concerto transcriptions, see Schulze, *Studien*, 146–73.
- 2 See the composition dates for various works given in *The New Grove Bach Family*. For more detailed discussion of the gaps between date of composition and date of copying in the Kellner-circle sources, see pp. 225–27 of my dissertation.
- 3 This integrated approach is utilized in George B. Stauffer, *The Organ Preludes of Johann Sebastian Bach* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980); and Marshall, "J. S. Bach's Compositions for Solo Flute."
- 4 See Alfred Dürr, *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J. S. Bachs. Zweite Auflage: Mit Anmerkungen und Nachträgen versehener Nachdruck aus Bach-Jahrbuch 1957* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976); and Georg von Dadelsen, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Trossingen: Hohner-Verlag, 1958).
- 5 See Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2:663.
- 6 See, for example, BWV, p. 517; and *The New Grove Bach Family*, 208.
- 7 On Naumann's report see BG, 36:xlvi. According to Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, "Aloys Fuchs als Sammler Bachscher Werke," *BJ* 47 (1960): 83–99, esp. n. 44, a copy of the fugue from the estate of the Viennese court organist Gottlieb Muffat (1690–1770) was also prepared during Bach's lifetime, having been written out around 1740. Riedel, however, offers no evidence in support of his dating. Moreover, Kobayashi, in an unpublished paper on Viennese Bach sources delivered at the Wiener Bach-Symposium, September 1985 ("Frühe Bach-Quellen im altösterreichischen Raum")—which represents the only comprehensive investigation of these manuscripts ever undertaken—concludes that the earliest of these sources dates from the 1770s.
- 8 According to Lohmann's edition of the complete organ works, 3:xiii, the title of the fantasy in Kellner's copy is a "jüngerer Zusatz," implying that it was added by someone other than Kellner. The title, however, is unquestionably in Kellner's hand.
- 9 See Marshall, "Organ or 'Klavier'? Instrumental Prescriptions in the Sources of Bach's Keyboard Works," 212–39. The same conclusion is drawn with respect to Buxtehude sources that use this designation in Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1987), 228. Hermann Keller was the first to suggest that the "manualiter" indications in the sources for the fugue imply organ performance and that the fantasy and fugue originated independent of one another. See Keller, *Die*



*Klavierwerke Bachs* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1950), 162–63; and his organ “manualiter” edition of BWV 904 in *Joh. Seb. Bach: Ausgewählte Werke für die Kleinorgel* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1942). Lohmann also includes BWV 904 in his edition (vol. 3), but in a “pedaliter” version.

- 10 For particulars, see Dadelsen and Rönna, eds., *Joh. Seb. Bach*, 135–36; and NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 70–72, 208–17.
- 11 See NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 174–75.
- 12 See Glöckner, “Neuerkenntnisse zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungskalender,” 45–56, 70–72.
- 13 See Stauffer, *The Organ Preludes*, 12–16, 27.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 14.
- 15 For a discussion of the autograph of BWV 739 and BWV 764 (SPK, P 488), see Russell Stinson, “Bach’s Earliest Autograph,” *The Musical Quarterly* 71 (1985): 235–63.
- 16 The dates given in the appendix are taken from the following: Dadelsen, *Beiträge*; Dürr, *Zur Chronologie*; Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Seine Handschrift*; Hill, “The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book”; Kobayashi, “Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs”; Schulze, *Studien*; Christoph Wolff, “Zur Problematik der Chronologie und Stilentwicklung des Bachschen Frühwerks, insbesondere zur musikalischen Vorgeschichte des Orgelbüchleins,” in *Bericht über die Wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum V. Internationalen Bachfest der DDR in Verbindung mit dem 60. Bachfest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft*, eds. Winfried Hoffmann and Armin Schneiderheinze (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1988), 449–55; and various *Kritische Berichte* of the NBA.

In addition to abbreviations encountered already in this study, the appendix makes use of the following abbreviations in the source column: WFB (*Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach* [Library of the School of Music, Yale University, no shelf number]), AMB I (first *Clavier-Büchlein* for Anna Magdalena Bach = P 224 [DSB]), and AMB II (second *Clavier-Büchlein* for Anna Magdalena Bach = P 225 [SPK]). Partial autographs, i.e., manuscripts in which Bach’s hand appears alongside another scribe’s, are designated by an asterisk.

- 17 Bach’s possible reasons for choosing one clef over the other in a given work (or during a given period) are discussed in my article, “Toward a Chronology of Bach’s Instrumental Music: Observations on Three Keyboard Works,” *The Journal of Musicology* 7 (1989): 440–70.
- 18 Naumann reported that C. P. E. Bach’s copy of the fugue was notated in treble clef. The lost Kittel manuscript was evidently the exemplar for two extant copies that use treble-clef notation. See Dadelsen and Rönna, eds., *Joh. Seb. Bach*, 135–36, on the question of source derivation in BWV 904.
- 19 We have no way of knowing whether the alleged C. P. E. Bach copy contained inscriptions designating himself as the scribe (or even the owner, for that matter). Moreover, there is no evidence that Naumann was any kind of expert on C. P. E. Bach’s hand (the first thorough investigation of his script was done in conjunction with the new chronology of Bach’s Leipzig vocal music in the 1950s). Nor is there a reference to any manuscript containing a fugue in A minor by J. S. Bach in *Verzeichniss des musikalischen Nachlasses des verstorbenen Capellmeister Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* (Hamburg: G. F. Schniebes, 1790; reprint, New York: Garland, 1981). It would not be inappropriate, then, to look on Naumann’s report with some skepticism.

- 20 See Stauffer, *The Organ Preludes*, 113–14.
- 21 The symmetrical design of the C-minor prelude has long been pointed to by scholars. See, for instance, Keller, *Die Orgelwerke*, 115–16; and Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 1:418.
- 22 See Stauffer, *The Organ Preludes*, 61–77.
- 23 This corrupt, two-movement version is found in P 320 (SPK), whose exemplar was obviously the same lost Kittel manuscript that was the first source to pair the A-minor fantasy and fugue. See also Stauffer, *The Organ Preludes*, 136.
- 24 It would be interesting to know whether Kittel felt these movements were especially compatible because of similar melodic contours. The ritornello of the fantasy begins with the progression e–f–e, the same sequence outlined in quarters at the beginning of the fugue subject.
- 25 See Stauffer, "Bach's Pastorale in F." Commentators have for years maintained that the work is an unlikely hodgepodge of organ and harpsichord movements. See, for example, Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2:692 n. 179.
- 26 Wolfgang Plath has argued that the theme of the last movement is actually an ornamented rendition of the opening phrase of the Christmas chorale "Resonet in laudibus." If the thematic resemblance is more than a coincidence, it would provide a link between this movement and the first, the only two in which melodies or techniques associated specifically with Christmas music are employed; it would also support Stauffer's view that the four movements of the Pastorale were meant to form a self-contained work. See Wolfgang Plath, "Ein 'geistlicher' Sinfoniesatz Mozarts," *Die Musikforschung* 27 (1974): 93–95.
- 27 See Keller, *Die Orgelwerke*, 75–76; and BWV, p. 437.
- 28 See Stauffer, *The Organ Preludes*, 27.
- 29 See Robert L. Marshall, "Bach the Progressive: Observations on his Later Works," *The Musical Quarterly* 62 (1976): 313–57. It is worth noting here also Peter Williams's assertion that the "textures" and "melodies" of the third movement "would be . . . at home in the middle movement of a harpsichord sonata from the 1740s or 1750s." See Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 1:280.
- 30 See Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Ein apokryphes Händel-Concerto in Joh. Seb. Bachs Handschrift?" *BJ* 66 (1980): 27–33; Schulze, *Katalog der Sammlung Manfred Gorko: Bachiana und andere Handschriften und Drucke des 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, 1977), 15; and Glöckner, "Neuerkenntnisse zu Johann Sebastian Bachs Aufführungskalender," 56 n. 23. For a modern edition of the Locatelli concerto (first published in 1721), see Arnold Schering, ed., *Pietro Locatelli: Concerto grosso F moll* (Leipzig: C. F. Kahnt, 1919).
- 31 See Stauffer, *The Organ Preludes*, 58–61, 114–15. Stauffer's proposed composition date of ca. 1719 is also the composition date given in *The New Grove Bach Family*, 200.
- 32 For another attempt to refute Stauffer's dating, see Werner Breig's program notes in *Johann Sebastian Bach: Spätwerk und Umfeld*, 61. Bachfest der Neuen Bachgesellschaft (Duisburg: Stadt Duisburg, 1986), 145–47.
- 33 See Keller, *Die Orgelwerke*, 118.
- 34 See Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2:689.
- 35 My description (and terminology) here is derived from Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 1:158.

- 36 This resemblance is also pointed out in Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 1:159–60.
- 37 See Stauffer, "Fugue Types in Bach's Free Organ Works," 148–50.
- 38 See Kobayashi, "Zur Chronologie der Spätwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs," 59.
- 39 I know of only three other Bach works in which similar passages appear: the C-major prelude (mm. 77–79); the last movement of the fourth Brandenburg Concerto (mm. 229–34); and the prelude to the C-major cello suite (mm. 77–80).
- 40 See Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 1:154.
- 41 Ibid., 154–55.
- 42 There is no denying the similarities between the prelude and the first movement of the second Brandenburg, as illustrated by Stauffer. His remark about a "close relationship" between the fugue and the unaccompanied violin fugues, though, is rather puzzling.
- 43 See Marshall, "J. S. Bach's Compositions for Solo Flute"; and Christoph Wolff, "Bach's Leipzig Chamber Music," *Early Music* 13 (1985): 165–75.

## VI SOME MISCELLANEOUS PROBLEMS OF AUTHENTICITY AND AUTHORSHIP

- 1 As would appear to be the case in Kobayashi's discussion of P 804/9, the copy by Anonymous 5 of the Prelude and Fugue in A Minor (BWV 895), whose title page—which assigns the work to Bach—is in Kellner's hand. Kobayashi assumes Kellner to be the scribe and states the following: "Kellner war ein nicht immer zuverlässiger Kopist. Die Zuweisung an Bach stünde daher auf schwachen Füßen, wäre das Werk nur in Kellners Abschrift überliefert." See Kobayashi, "Der Gehrener Kantor Johann Christoph Bach," 174. It does seem, however, that in at least one instance Kellner was guilty of a clear-cut misattribution; his lost copy of the Concerto in A Minor after Vivaldi (BWV 593) reportedly named Telemann as the composer of the original. See the preface to vol. 8 of Griepenkerl and Roitzsch, eds., *Johann Sebastian Bach's Kompositionen für die Orgel*.
- 2 See Williams, "BWV 565: A Toccata in D Minor for Organ by J. S. Bach?" and Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 1:214–21.
- 3 For a list of non-J. S. Bach manuscripts in Ringk's hand, see NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 199–200. Only three Ringk manuscripts use treble clef: P 595/6 (BWV 541/2), P 804/52 (BWV 984), and SPK, Mus. Ms. 9160/6 (Handel suite).
- 4 See the discussion in Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 1:231. It has been excluded from the NBA and, according to *The New Grove Bach Family*, 201, it is spurious.
- 5 See Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 1:317–19.
- 6 See Hill, "The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book," 40, 189–93.
- 7 See Christoph Wolff, ed., *The Neumeister Collection of Chorale Preludes from the Bach Circle* (Yale University Manuscript LM 4708) (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986), 9. See also Wolff's performing edition, *J. S. Bach: Orgelchoräle der Neumeister-Sammlung/Organ Chorales from the Neumeister Collection* (New Haven and Kassel: Yale University Press and Bärenreiter, 1985).
- 8 See Eichberg, "Unechtes unter Johann Sebastian Bachs Klavierwerken," 47–49.
- 9 Although the chorale's key signature has only one flat, it is clearly in B-flat major.
- 10 See the following Neumeister chorales: "Herr Gott, nun schliess den Himmel auf," mm. 5–6; "Alle Menschen müssen sterben," m. 9; "Du Friedefürst, Herr Jesu Christ" (BWV 1102), mm. 29–39; "Gott ist mein Heil, mein Hilf und Trost" (BWV 1106), mm. 7–8;

- and "Jesu, meines Lebens Leben" (BWV 1107), mm. 9–10. Bach also uses this figuration in the singly transmitted chorale "Valet will ich dir geben" (BWV 735a), mm. 43–46, 51–55.
- 11 Such as the Suite in F Major (BWV 833), Sonata in A Minor (BWV 967), and Capriccio in B-flat Major on the Departure of his Most Beloved Brother (BWV 992). See Hill, "The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book," 457.
  - 12 See Kobayashi, "Der Gehrener Kantor Johann Christoph Bach," 173–74.
  - 13 See Hill, "The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book," 406–9; and Stauffer, *The Organ Preludes*, 28–29.
  - 14 See Klaus Hofmann, "‘Fünf Präludien und fünf Fugen’: Über ein unbeachtetes Sammelwerk Johann Sebastian Bachs," in Hoffmann and Schneiderheinze, eds., *Bericht über die Wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum V. Internationalen Bachfest der DDR*, 227–35.
  - 15 It is listed among the opera dubia in *The New Grove Bach Family*, 210. Since BWV 870a, 901/2, and 902/2 are early versions of works from the Well-Tempered Clavier II, it is understandable why their authenticity has never been challenged.
  - 16 See Marc-André Souchay, "Das Thema in der Fuge Bachs," *BJ* 24 (1927): 1–102, esp. 26.
  - 17 See Schulze, *Studien*, 124–25.
  - 18 See Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Neuerkenntnisse zu einigen Bach-Quellen an Handschriftkundlicher Untersuchungen," *BJ* 64 (1978): 43–60, esp. 51.
  - 19 See Schulze, *Studien*, 125.
  - 20 See Ulrich Dähnert, "Organs Played and Tested by J. S. Bach," in Stauffer and May, eds., *J. S. Bach as Organist*, 3–24, esp. 9–10.
  - 21 See the preface to vol. 15 of Czerny, Grienpenkerl, and Roitzsch, eds., *Klavierwerke von Joh. Seb. Bach*.
  - 22 See Schulze, *Studien*, 80–81.
  - 23 Its similarities with the Inventions suggests that it may have been composed at about the same time they were. See the commentary to Hans-Joachim Schulze, ed., *Joh. Seb. Bach: Leichte Klavierstücke* (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1974). In *The New Grove Bach Family*, 208, the work is listed as authentic and assigned tentatively to the Weimar period, after 1712.
  - 24 See Hill, "The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book," 362–63, 444–47. *The New Grove Bach Family*, 210 labels it "doubtful."
  - 25 Keller, who also doubted that it was a Bach work, describes it as "impersonal" and "stiff." See Keller, *Die Klavierwerke Bachs*, 48. It is listed as "doubtful" in *The New Grove Bach Family*, 210.
  - 26 See Fechner, "Die Klavier- und Orgelwerke," for a complete list of Kellner's keyboard fugues along with information on sources and editions. If it could be proven that Kellner is the composer of BWV 956, it would not be the first time that a work listed in the BWV has turned out to be a composition by Kellner. Kellner is the composer of "Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder" (BWV Anh. 47) and the Fugue in D Minor (BWV Anh. 180), and he probably wrote the Fugue in G Major (BWV Anh. 44) as well. (The only other candidate for the composer of the G-major fugue is J. C. Kellner.) It should perhaps also be mentioned that Kellner is the composer of a C-minor keyboard fugue that has formerly been attributed to no less than three of Bach's sons (Wilhelm Friedemann, Johann Christoph Friedrich, and Johann Christian) and that is published in *W. F. Bach: Complete Works for Organ*, eds. E. Power Biggs and George B. Weston (New York: Music



- Press, 1947). On this work, see Fechner, 101–2. On the works listed in the BWV, see Fechner, 102–7; and Georg Feder, “Bemerkungen über einige J. S. Bach zugeschriebene Werke,” *Die Musikforschung* 11 (1958): 76–79.
- 27 On Vogler’s copy, see Schulze, *Studien*, 60, 67.
- 28 On Grasnich’s copy, P 644 (SPK), see Kast, *Die Bach-Handschriften*, 40. Its title reads “Fuga in C♯ di Bach.” Since Anonymous 5’s copy breaks off at the bottom right corner of the last page of the fascicle, it seems probable that the remaining seventeen bars were copied onto a leaf that has not survived.
- 29 See John R. Shannon, “*The Mylau Tabulaturbuch: A Study of the Preludial and Fugal Forms in the Hands of Bach’s Middle-German Precursors*” (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, 1961), 61–65. For an inventory, see Max Seiffert, “Das Mylauer Tabulaturbuch von 1750,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1918–19): 607–32.
- 30 See Shannon, “*The Mylau Tabulaturbuch: A Study*,” 68–69; and BG, 38:l. According to the latter (the only edition of the fugue), the work is related to early Bach organ fugues in that it transfers the subject to the pedals for the first time about three-quarters of the way through. One wonders, though, if the composer ever intended for the subject to be pedaled. The descending scalar figure and repeated sixteenths are very unidiomatic on a pedalboard and the only passage where the subject is allegedly pedaled (mm. 34–38) can be played easily without pedal.
- 31 See the Vetter fugues published in John R. Shannon, ed., *The Mylau Tabulaturbuch: Forty Selected Compositions*, (Neuhausen and Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology and Hänssler-Verlag, 1977).
- 32 No authenticated Bach fugue comes close to this one with regard to the number of repeated notes in the subject. See Hermann Keller, “Unechte Orgelwerke Bachs,” *BJ* 34 (1937): 59–82, esp. 64.
- 33 See Shannon, “*The Mylau Tabulaturbuch: A Study*,” 107–15.
- 34 My forthcoming edition of this work will be published by Breitkopf & Härtel.
- 35 The indication in the BWV that the work is performable on flute as well as violin is puzzling; notes below d’—the lowest pitch available on the baroque flute—are commonplace and there is a great deal of chordal writing in the third and fifth movements.
- 36 *Musica Antiqua Köln, J. S. Bach: Kammermusik* (Deutsche Grammophon Archiv–2742 007, 1983). According to the notes that accompany this recording, the P 804 copy names Bach as the composer.
- 37 See Christoph Wolff’s discussion in *The New Grove Bach Family*, 122.
- 38 It could also be argued that in m. 15 of the first movement, second beat, the composer confused Neapolitan (see the b♭) and diminished harmonies.
- 39 The BWV makes no mention of the Schwerin copy.
- 40 On the Ringk copy see NBA, IV/5–6, KB, 200; on the Mempel-circle copy, see Schulze, *Studien*, 78.
- 41 The sequence used in the BWV, incidentally, is adopted in the *Musica Antiqua Köln* recording since it is based solely on P 804.
- 42 Kellner’s chorale is published in *Choralvorspiele alter Meister*, ed. Karl Straube (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1907).
- 43 Bach does incorporate aspects of the galant style into the large setting of “Vater unser im Himmelreich” (BWV 682) from *Clavierübung* III, but within the context of a trio in imitative texture. See Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 2:210–12.

- 44 In Schulze, *Studien*, 155 n. 604, the model of the concerto transcription is identified as the work published as no. 97 in the series *Hortus Musicus*, ed. Adolf Hoffmann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1952).
- 45 Their hands are so similar, in fact, that scholars have speculated that Walther himself may be the scribe. See NBA, VI/5, KB, 27; and Kast, *Die Bach-Handschriften*, 49.
- 46 As a keyboard transcriber, Walther appears to have been extraordinarily active. He claims in his autobiography, published in Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (Hamburg: In Verlegung des Verfassers, 1740; reprint, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1969), 389, to have prepared some 78 "aufs Clavier applicirte Stücke."
- 47 See Schulze, *Studien*, 155 n. 604.
- 48 See Zietz, *Quellenkritische*.

# INDEX TO CITED WORKS OF BACH (INCLUDING DOUBTFUL AND SPURIOUS COMPOSITIONS)

.....

## PRINCIPAL COMPOSITIONS AND COLLECTIONS

"Arnstadt Congregational Chorales," 52  
 Art of Fugue. *See* BWV 1080  
 B Minor Mass. *See* BWV 232  
 Brandenburg Concertos. *See* BWV 1047, 1049  
 Christmas Oratorio. *See* BWV 248  
*Clavier-Büchlein* for Anna Magdalena Bach, 72, 105, 146, 147, 166 n. 12  
*Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*, 145, 146, 147, 156 n. 20, 161 n. 91  
*Clavierübung*, 105  
*Clavierübung*, Part I (Partitas). *See* BWV 825–30  
*Clavierübung*, Part III, 113. *See also* BWV 552, 677, 681, 682  
 French Suites. *See* BWV 812–17  
 Inventions and Sinfonias. *See* BWV 772–801  
 Musical Offering. *See* BWV 1079  
*Orgelbüchlein*. *See* BWV 599–644  
 "Schübler Chorales." *See* BWV 645–50  
 Sonatas and Partitas for Unaccompanied Violin. *See* BWV 1001–6  
 Suites for Unaccompanied Cello. *See* BWV 1007–12  
 Well-Tempered Clavier, 105, 127. *See also* BWV 846–69 (Well-Tempered Clavier, Book I); BWV 870–93 (Well-Tempered Clavier, Book II)

## INDIVIDUAL COMPOSITIONS (IN BWV ORDER)

BWV 202 ("Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten"), 35, 37, 48  
 BWV 208 ("Hunt" Cantata: "Was mir behagt, ist nur die muntre Jagd"), 162 n. 103  
 BWV 232 (B Minor Mass), 116  
 BWV 248 (Christmas Oratorio), 113  
 BWV 510 ("Gib dich zufrieden und sei stille"), 72, 166 n. 12  
 BWV 525–30 (Trio Sonatas for Organ), 79, 148  
 BWV 529 (Trio Sonata V in C Major), 39, 156 n. 24  
 BWV 531 (Organ Prelude and Fugue in C Major), 23, 59, 164 n. 14, 167 n. 25  
 BWV 532/2 (Organ Fugue in D Major, 10, 37  
 BWV 533 (Organ Prelude and Fugue in E Minor), 37, 41, 42, 165 n. 22  
 BWV 535 (Organ Prelude and Fugue in G Minor), 20, 24, 31, 33, 44, 159 n. 57, 167 n. 25  
 BWV 536 (Organ Prelude and Fugue in A Major), 24, 42, 161 n. 90  
 BWV 538 (Organ Toccata and Fugue in D Minor "Dorian"), 20, 167 n. 25  
 BWV 539/2 (Organ Fugue in D Minor), 157 n. 36  
 BWV 540 (Organ Toccata and Fugue in F Major), 20, 39, 107

- BWV 541 (Organ Prelude and Fugue in G Major), 23, 35, 37, 48–49, 171 n. 3  
 BWV 542/2 (Organ Fugue in G Minor), 10, 25, 153 n. 7  
 BWV 544 (Organ Prelude and Fugue in B Minor), 24, 26, 39, 53, 108–9, 148, 158 n. 39  
 BWV 545 (Organ Prelude and Fugue in C Major), 24, 156 n. 24  
 BWV 546 (Organ Prelude and Fugue in C Minor), 25, 107–10, 170 n. 21  
 BWV 547 (Organ Prelude and Fugue in C Major “9/8”), 24, 39, 53, 114–19, 163 n. 125, 171 nn. 39 and 42  
 BWV 548 (Organ Prelude and Fugue in E Minor “Wedge”), 24, 39, 53, 108–9, 148, 155 n. 5, 163 n. 125, 167 n. 25  
 BWV 549/549a (Organ Prelude and Fugue in C Minor/D Minor), 20, 157 n. 34  
 BWV 550 (Organ Prelude and Fugue in G Major), 20, 59  
 BWV 552 (Organ Prelude and Fugue in E-flat Major “St. Anne” from *Clavierübung*, Part III), 26, 39, 108–10, 150  
 BWV 562 (Organ Fantasy and Fugue in C Minor), 24, 26, 39, 50, 116, 147, 151  
 BWV 563 (Organ Fantasy and “Imitatio” in B Minor), 24, 26, 33, 157 n. 30  
 BWV 564 (Organ Toccata, Adagio, and Fugue in C Major), 24, 42, 161 n. 90  
 BWV 565 (Organ Toccata in D Minor), 37, 121–22, 164 n. 20  
 BWV 566 (Organ Toccata in E Major), 23, 110  
 BWV 570 (Organ Fantasy in C Major), 24, 26, 157 n. 30, 163 n. 8  
 BWV 571 (Organ Fantasy in G Major), 24, 122–23  
 BWV 572 (Organ Fantasy in G Major), 23, 165 n. 22  
 BWV 574 (Organ Fugue in C Minor on a Theme by Legrenzi), 20, 42, 43, 51, 59, 162 n. 112  
 BWV 578 (Organ Fugue in G Minor “Little”), 20, 167 n. 25  
 BWV 579 (Organ Fugue in B Minor on a Theme by Corelli), 38, 40, 51, 162 n. 120  
 BWV 582 (Organ Passacaglia in C Minor), 85  
 BWV 585 (Organ Trio in C Minor), 168 n. 31  
 BWV 586 (Organ Trio in G Major), 168 n. 31  
 BWV 590 (Organ Pastorale in F Major), 24, 110–14, 119, 170 nn. 25, 26, and 29  
 BWV 592–96 (Concerto Transcriptions for Organ), 51, 102  
 BWV 593 (Concerto in A Minor after Vivaldi), 20, 167 n. 25, 171 n. 1  
 BWV 594 (Concerto in C Major after Vivaldi “Grosso Mogul”), 23, 57, 59, 101–2, 164 n. 14, 167 n. 25  
 BWV 595 (Concerto in C Major after Prince Johann Ernst), 25, 167 n. 25  
 BWV 596 (Concerto in D Minor after Vivaldi), 25, 145  
 BWV 599–644 (*Orgelbüchlein*), 105, 145, 150  
 BWV 645–50 (“Schübler Chorales”), 16, 151–52  
 BWV 677 (“Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr” from *Clavierübung*, Part III), 26, 39, 115–16, 150  
 BWV 681 (“Wir glauben all an einen Gott” from *Clavierübung*, Part III), 26, 39, 116, 150  
 BWV 682 (“Vater unser im Himmelreich” from *Clavierübung*, Part III), 26, 39, 150, 173 n. 43  
 BWV 715 (“Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr”), 24, 52  
 BWV 722 (“Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ”), 23, 52  
 BWV 726 (“Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend”), 24, 52  
 BWV 732 (“Lobt Gott, ihr Christen, allzugleich”), 23, 52  
 BWV 735a (“Valet will ich dir geben”), 172 n. 10  
 BWV 739 (“Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern”), 106, 145  
 BWV 764 (“Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern”), 106, 145  
 BWV 766 (Partita on “Christ, der du bist der helle Tag”), 40  
 BWV 769/769a (Canonic Variations on “Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her”), 116, 151  
 BWV 772–801 (Two- and Three-Part Inventions and Sinfonias), 8, 23, 43, 125, 127, 129, 146, 156 n. 20, 172 n. 23  
 BWV 790 (Sinfonia in D Minor), 39, 51, 79, 165 n. 1  
 BWV 812–17 (French Suites), 111, 146



- BWV 814 (French Suite III in B Minor), 42, 43  
 BWV 818a (Suite in A Minor), 38  
 BWV 821 (Suite in B-flat Major), 41, 42, 123–24, 125, 160 n. 84  
 BWV 825–30 (*Clavierübung*, Part I: Partitas), 111, 149  
 BWV 825 (Partita I in B-flat Major), 23, 26, 147  
 BWV 827 (Partita III in A Minor), 24, 26, 31, 33, 43, 147, 148, 159 n. 57  
 BWV 831 (French Overture), 26, 41, 42, 149  
 BWV 833 (Suite in F Major), 172 n. 11  
 BWV 846–69 (Well-Tempered Clavier, Book I), 105, 127, 146  
 BWV 848/1 (Prelude in C-sharp Major), 23, 37, 38, 48–49, 156 n. 20  
 BWV 870–93 (Well-Tempered Clavier, Book II), 107, 114, 150, 172 n. 15  
 BWV 870a (Prelude and Fughetta in C Major), 24, 26, 39, 125–27, 156 n. 24, 172 n. 15  
 BWV 871/2 (Fugue in C Minor), 115  
 BWV 873/2 (Fugue in C-sharp Minor), 41, 42  
 BWV 892/2 (Fugue in B Major), 115  
 BWV 894 (Prelude and Fugue in A Minor), 8, 23  
 BWV 895 (Prelude and Fugue in A Minor), 42, 43, 125, 171 n. 1  
 BWV 899 (Prelude and Fughetta in D Minor), 24, 125–27, 156 n. 24  
 BWV 900 (Prelude and Fughetta in E Minor), 24, 125–27, 156 n. 24  
 BWV 901 (Prelude and Fughetta in F Major), 127, 172 n. 15  
 BWV 902 (Prelude and Fughetta in G Major), 23, 127, 172 n. 15  
 BWV 904 (Fantasy and Fugue in A Minor), 24, 102–4, 106–10, 119, 168 n. 9, 170 n. 24  
 BWV 906 (Fantasy and Fugue in C Minor), 26, 40, 41, 42, 46, 148, 149–50  
 BWV 907 (Fantasy and Fughetta in B-flat Major), 24, 127–29  
 BWV 908 (Fantasy and Fughetta in D Major), 24, 127–29  
 BWV 910 (Toccatina in F-sharp Minor), 42, 43  
 BWV 912 + 912a (Toccatina in D Major), 42, 43, 161 n. 93  
 BWV 919 (Fantasy in C Minor), 25, 129  
 BWV 921 (Prelude in C Minor), 145, 156 n. 23  
 BWV 946 (Fugue in C Major on a Theme by Albinoni), 39, 51, 130, 163 n. 120  
 BWV 947 (Fugue in A Minor), 25  
 BWV 949 (Fugue in A Major), 26, 33, 129–30, 163 n. 120  
 BWV 950 (Fugue in A Major on a Theme by Albinoni), 23, 27, 48–49, 51, 57, 130, 162 n. 120  
 BWV 951/951a (Fugue in B Minor on a Theme by Albinoni), 33, 51, 130  
 BWV 953 (Fugue in C Major), 23, 147, 156 n. 20  
 BWV 954 (Fugue in B-flat Major after Reincken), 40–41, 42, 51  
 BWV 955 (Fugue in B-flat Major after Erselius), 37, 41, 42, 43, 51, 163 n. 120  
 BWV 956 (Fugue in E Minor), 39, 130, 172 n. 26  
 BWV 961 (Fughetta in C Minor), 41, 42  
 BWV 963 (Sonata in D Major), 38  
 BWV 964 (Sonata in D Minor), 61  
 BWV 965 (Sonata in A Minor after Reincken), 23, 51  
 BWV 966 (Sonata in C Major after Reinken), 23, 51  
 BWV 967 (Sonata in A Minor), 23, 26, 51, 156 n. 21, 163 n. 122, 172 n. 11  
 BWV 968 (Adagio in G Major), 61  
 BWV 970 (Presto in D Minor), 160 n. 83  
 BWV 972–87 (Concerto Transcriptions for Clavier, *manualiter*), 51, 102, 163 n. 121  
 BWV 972 (Concerto in D Major after Vivaldi), 42, 44  
 BWV 974 (Concerto in D Minor after Marcello), 41, 42, 130–32, 160 n. 85  
 BWV 984 (Concerto in C Major after Prince Johann Ernst), 37, 171 n. 3  
 BWV 987 (Concerto in D Minor after Prince Johann Ernst), 31, 33  
 BWV 989 (Aria Variata), 19, 23, 59, 62, 163 n. 8, 164 n. 13  
 BWV 992 (Capriccio in B-flat Major on the Departure of his Most Beloved Brother), 37, 172 n. 11  
 BWV 966 (Suite in E Minor for Lute), 125  
 BWV 1001–6 (Sonatas and Partitas for Unaccompanied Violin), 23, 26, 48, 55–70, 156 n. 20, 162 n. 108  
 BWV 1001 (Sonata I in G Minor), 65–66, 70,

- 157 n. 36, 165 n. 26
- BWV 1003 (Sonata II in A Minor), 114, 171 n. 42
- BWV 1004 (Partita II in D Minor), 62–65, 165 n. 26
- BWV 1005 (Sonata III in C Major), 66–70, 114, 171 n. 42
- BWV 1007–12 (Suites for Unaccompanied Cello), 23, 48, 60–61, 111, 162 n. 108
- BWV 1009 (Suite III in C Major), 171 n. 39
- BWV 1011 (Suite V in C Minor), 60–61
- BWV 1012 (Suite VI in D Major), 24, 164 n. 21
- BWV 1027 (Sonata in G Major for Viola da gamba and Obbligato Harpsichord), 71–99 passim, 151, 167 n. 23
- BWV 1027a (Organ Trio in G Major), 71–73, 88–100, 165 n. 1
- BWV 1033 (Sonata in C Major for Flute and Continuo), 166 n. 12
- BWV 1034 (Sonata in E Minor for Flute and Continuo), 23, 48, 166 n. 14
- BWV 1038 (Sonata in G Major for Flute, Violin, and Continuo), 166 n. 12
- BWV 1039 (Sonata in G Major for Two Flutes and Continuo), 71–99 passim, 166 n. 16, 167 n. 23
- BWV 1047 (Brandenburg Concerto II in F Major), 114
- BWV 1049 (Brandenburg Concerto IV in G Major), 171 n. 39
- BWV 1052 (Concerto in D Minor for Harpsichord and Orchestra), 25, 41, 42, 44, 150
- BWV 1079 (Musical Offering), 16, 105, 116, 151
- BWV 1080 (Art of Fugue), 105, 116, 151, 152
- BWV 1090–1120 (Organ Chorales from the "Neumeister Collection"), 123, 137
- BWV 1092 ("Herr Gott, nun schleuss den Himmel auf"), 123–24, 171 n. 10
- BWV 1102 ("Du Friedefürst, Herr Jesu Christ"), 171 n. 10
- BWV 1105 ("Jesu, meine Freude"), 123–24
- BWV 1106 ("Gott ist mein Heil, mein Hilf und Trost"), 124, 171 n. 10
- BWV 1107 ("Jesu, meines Lebens Leben"), 172 n. 10
- BWV 1113 ("Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt"), 123–24
- BWV 1115 ("Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr"), 123
- BWV 1117 ("Alle Menschen müssen sterben"), 123–24
- BWV 1120 ("Christ, der du bist der helle Tag"), 123–24
- BWV Anh. 44 (Organ Fugue in G Major), 172 n. 26
- BWV Anh. 47 ("Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder"), 172 n. 26
- BWV Anh. 81 (Gigue in G Major for Organ), 41, 42, 130–32, 135
- BWV Anh. 90 (Fugue in C Major), 42, 43, 132–35, 173 n. 28, 173 nn. 30 and 32
- BWV Anh. 153 (Sonata in A Major for Violin and Continuo), 33, 135–41, 173 nn. 34, 35, and 38
- BWV Anh. 180 (Fugue in D Minor), 172 n. 26
- BWV deest ("Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ"), 40, 141

# GENERAL INDEX

.....

- Agricola, Johann Friedrich, 6  
 Albinoni, Tomaso, 130, 163 n. 120  
 Altenburg, 6, 8  
 "Amalien-Bibliothek," 6, 129, 167 n. 21  
 Amsterdam, 38–39, 44, 52, 161 n. 97  
 Andreas Bach Book. *See* Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt, III.8.4  
 Anna Amalia, Princess, 6  
 Anonymous scribes, 40–44  
 Apolda, 38  
 Arnstadt, 7, 13, 19, 25, 102, 111  
 "Art fugue," 116
- Bach, Anna Magdalena, 4, 5, 153 n. 10, 165 n. 21  
 Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel, 5–6, 103, 107, 125–27, 161 n. 98, 166 n. 12, 169 nn. 18 and 19  
 Bach, Johann Andreas, 18–19  
 Bach, Johann Bernhard (1676–1749), 8, 129  
 Bach, Johann Bernhard (1700–1743), 18–19  
 Bach, Johann Christian, 5, 153 n. 10, 172 n. 26  
 Bach, Johann Christoph (1671–1721), 7, 18, 129–30  
 Bach, Johann Christoph (1673–1727), 8, 125  
 Bach, Johann Christoph Friedrich, 5, 172 n. 26  
 Bach, Johann Ernst, 19  
 Bach, Johann Sebastian: "chorale cantatas," 109; chronology of his music, 102; life in Thuringia, 6–7; as a subject of reception history, 1; as a teacher, 2–3, 166 n. 12; "Thorough Bass Treatise," 157 n. 31  
 Bach, Wilhelm Friedemann, 5–6, 40, 160 n. 83, 172 n. 26  
 Bach-Gesellschaft edition (BG), 166 n. 16  
 Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis (BWV), 55, 71–72, 135, 163 n. 120, 173 nn. 35 and 41  
 Baumbach, Johann, 47, 162 n. 107  
 Becker, Johann, 53, 163 n. 125  
 Benda, Georg Anton, 44, 161 n. 98  
 Berlin, 6, 17, 19, 33, 49, 50, 161 n. 98; its Bach circle, 4, 5–6  
 Berlin (East), Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (DSB), German Democratic Republic, shelf numbers of manuscripts  
   P 224 (first *Clavier-Büchlein* for Anna Magdalena Bach). *See* *Clavier-Büchlein* for Anna Magdalena Bach in Index to Cited Works  
   P 226/2 (BWV 1027), 72, 151  
   P 801, 7–8, 16, 26, 59, 164 n. 13  
   P 802, 7–8, 26  
   P 803, 7–8, 26  
   St 431 (BWV 1039), 72–74, 166 nn. 12, 13, and 16  
 Berlin (West), Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, shelf numbers of manuscripts  
   Mus. ms. 9160/6 (Handel suite), 171 n. 3  
   Mus. ms. 11544/8 (Kellner, Fugue in C Minor), 132  
   Mus. ms. 11544/14 (Kellner, "Herzlich tut mich verlangen"), 160 n. 78  
   Mus. ms. 40644 (Möller Manuscript), 7,

Berlin (West), Staatsbibliothek (*cont.*)

- 18–19, 26, 49, 156 n. 21
- P 225 (second *Clavier-Büchlein* for Anna Magdalena Bach). See *Clavier-Büchlein* for Anna Magdalena Bach in Index to Cited Works
- P 269 (BWV 1007–12), 165 n. 21
- P 274, 20
- P 274/1 (BWV 547), 24, 26, 28, 114
- P 274/2 (BWV 548), 24, 26, 28, 148, 155 n. 5, 167 n. 25
- P 274/3 (BWV 531, 722, 732), 23, 28, 52, 59, 167 n. 25
- P 286, 20, 46, 88, 162 n. 105, 164 n. 14
- P 286/2 (BWV 531), 167 n. 25
- P 286/5 (BWV 564), 24, 28, 161 n. 90
- P 286/6 (BWV 595), 167 n. 25
- P 286/7 (BWV 594), 167 n. 25
- P 286/10 (BWV 546), 25, 28, 110
- P 286/12 (BWV 906/1), 46
- P 286/14 (BWV 538), 167 n. 25
- P 287, 20, 46, 88, 162 n. 105
- P 287/2 (BWV 548), 167 n. 25
- P 287/6 (BWV 590), 24, 27, 111
- P 287/10 (BWV 571), 24, 28, 122
- P 288, 20, 46, 88, 162 n. 105
- P 288/4 (organ-trio transcription), 81, 87
- P 288/6 (BWV 578), 167 n. 25
- P 288/7 (BWV 535), 167 n. 25
- P 288/8 (BWV 541), 23, 27, 30
- P 288/11 (BWV 904/2, 562/1), 24, 26, 27, 30, 51, 103
- P 288/14 (BWV 593), 167 n. 25
- P 320 (BWV 566), 170 n. 23
- P 425, 33
- P 425/2 (BWV 955), 27, 41, 42, 160 n. 87, 163 n. 120
- P 574 (BWV 825), 20, 23, 26, 27, 30, 162 n. 112
- P 578 (BWV 847, 851, 865, 867, 869), 28, 33, 37
- P 583 (BWV 864), 33, 37
- P 595, 33
- P 595/3 (BWV 950), 28, 37, 163 n. 120
- P 595/6 (BWV 541), 28, 35, 37, 171 n. 3
- P 595/8 (BWV 565), 37, 122, 164 n. 20
- P 595/9 (BWV 955), 28, 37, 163 n. 120
- P 627 (BWV 848), 29, 33, 37
- P 628 (BWV 850), 29, 33, 37
- P 642 (BWV 550), 59
- P 644 (BWV Anh. 90), 173 n. 27
- P 804, 19–20, 33, 38, 40, 46, 135
- P 804/4 (BWV 974, Anh. 81), 27, 41, 42, 130–32, 160 nn. 85 and 87
- P 804/5 (BWV 953), 23, 27, 156 n. 20
- P 804/6 (Telemann transcriptions), 27, 40, 141–43
- P 804/8 (BWV 956), 27, 39, 160 n. 79
- P 804/9 (BWV 895), 27, 42, 43, 125, 161 n. 92, 171 n. 1
- P 804/10 (BWV 963, 579), 27, 38, 162 n. 120
- P 804/12 (organ-trio transcription), 24, 29, 71, 75, 87
- P 804/13 (BWV 570, 563/1, BuxWV 137), 24, 26, 28, 30, 157 n. 30, 163 n. 8
- P 804/15 (BWV 976), 23, 28, 30, 31
- P 804/16 (BWV 827), 24, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 43, 159 n. 57
- P 804/17 (BWV 955), 27, 42, 163 n. 120
- P 804/18 (BWV 907), 24, 27, 127–29
- P 804/20 (BWV 965), 23, 27, 43
- P 804/21 (BWV 989), 19, 23, 27, 30, 59, 163 n. 8
- P 804/22 (BWV 1001–6), 23, 27, 30, 55–70, 156 n. 20, 157 n. 36, 162 n. 108, 163 n. 3
- P 804/23 (BWV 1034), 23, 28, 43
- P 804/24 (BWV 821), 27, 42, 123, 160 n. 84
- P 804/25 (BWV 904/1), 24, 28, 103, 168 n. 8
- P 804/26 (BWV 908), 24, 27, 127–29
- P 804/27 (BWV 967), 23, 26, 27, 156 n. 21
- P 804/29 (BWV 894), 23, 27, 30
- P 804/30 (BWV 536), 24, 27, 42, 43, 161 n. 90
- P 804/32 (BWV 906), 26, 28, 40, 42, 46, 160 n. 79
- P 804/33 (BWV 966), 23, 27, 43
- P 804/34 (BWV 987), 27, 31, 33
- P 804/36 (BWV 818a), 27, 38
- P 804/37 (BWV 949), 26, 27, 33, 129–30, 163 n. 120
- P 804/38 (BWV 870a, 899, 900), 24, 26, 28, 125, 156 n. 24
- P 804/39 (BWV 970, W. F. Bach Minuet), 28, 40
- P 804/40 (BWV 1007–12), 23, 24, 27, 60, 162 n. 108, 164 n. 21
- P 804/41 (BWV 772–801), 23, 27, 30, 31, 43, 51, 156 n. 20, 161 n. 94
- P 804/42 (BWV 715, 726), 24, 27, 52



- P 804/43 (BWV Anh. 153), 27, 33, 135–41, 173 nn. 36 and 41  
 P 804/47 (BWV 910), 28, 42, 43, 161 n. 91  
 P 804/48 (BWV 563/2), 27, 31, 33  
 P 804/49 (BWV 814), 27, 42, 43  
 P 804/51 (BWV 950), 23, 28, 57, 163 n. 120  
 P 804/52 (BWV 984), 28, 30, 37, 171 n. 3  
 P 804/54 (BWV 973, Anh. 90), 27, 42, 43, 132–35  
 P 804/55 (BWV 972, 535/1), 24, 27, 31, 33, 42, 44, 157 n. 33, 159 n. 57  
 P 804/57 (BWV 533/2), 27, 41, 42  
 P 891 (BWV 544), 20, 24, 26, 27, 30, 158 n. 39  
 P 924 (BWV 550), 59  
 P 967 (BWV 1001–6), 55  
 St 125 (BWV 1052), 20, 25, 27, 28, 30, 41, 42, 44, 158 n. 38, 159 n. 54, 162 n. 105  
 Birnbaum, Johann Abraham, 4  
 Böhm, Georg, 45, 162 n. 100  
 Boyden, David D., 65  
 Braunlich, Helmut, 56, 69  
 Breitkopf and Härtel (publisher), 53  
 Buxtehude, Dietrich, 16, 45, 48, 59, 122, 123, 168 n. 9  
  
 Collins, Michael, 160 n. 76  
 Cöthen: as a creative period in Bach's life, 105, 111, 127  
  
 Darmstadt, 53  
 Dietendorf, 13  
 Dresden, 18  
 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mus. 2969-T-4 (Kellner, Prelude and Fugue in C Major), 155 n. 10  
  
 Eichberg, Hartwig, 160 n. 84  
 Eisenach, 6, 8, 35, 129  
 Eppstein, Hans, 73–75, 166 n. 14  
 Erfurt, 6, 9  
 Ernst August, Duke, 15  
 Exemplar: explained, 156 n. 14  
  
 Fabricius, Johann Nicol[aus?], 18–19, 49  
 Fasch, Johann Friedrich, 168 n. 31  
 Forkel, Johann Nikolaus, 53, 163 n. 125  
 Franck, Martha, 162 n. 108  
 Frankenhain, 13, 33, 47  
 Frankfurt am Main, 53  
 Frankfurt an der Oder, 103  
  
 Frederick the Great, 5–6  
 Frischmuth, Leonhard, 37, 38–40, 50–51, 52, 77, 130, 160 nn. 70, 75, and 76, 161 n. 97, 164 n. 20, 165 n. 1  
  
 Galant style, 111–13, 141  
 "Gamba clavier," 99  
 Gehren, 8, 125  
 Gerber, Ernst Ludwig, 33, 48, 155 n. 7, 159 n. 60  
 Gerber, Heinrich Nicolaus, 8, 16, 18, 50, 155 n. 6, 156 n. 16  
 Gerlach, Carl Gotthelf, 127–29  
 Geschwenda, 40, 158 n. 37  
 Gewalt, David, 29  
 Gotha, 15, 29, 33, 44, 46, 159 n. 61  
 Gotha, Staatsarchiv, Abteilung Hohenlohe-Archiv, Akte 2702 (Kellner, organ examination), 158 n. 37, 161 n. 98  
 Göttingen, 53  
 Gräfenroda, 3, 6, 13, 15, 16, 18, 35, 38, 40, 44, 45, 46, 48, 154 n. 12, 155 n. 7, 158 n. 37  
 Grasnich, Friedrich August, 135  
 Gressler, Johann Georg, 50, 164 n. 17  
 Griepenkerl, Friedrich Conrad, 163 n. 7  
 "Gutjahr," 40, 141, 160 n. 70  
 Gutjahr, Johann Christoph, 40  
 Gutjahr, Johann Lorenz, 40  
 Gutjahr, Johann Michael, 40  
  
 Hague, The, Gemeentemuseum, 4. G. 14 (Kellner, "Nun danket alle Gott"), 155 n. 11  
 Halle, 5, 17, 129  
 Hamburg, 5, 46  
 Handel, George Frideric, 17, 99, 156 n. 19, 171 n. 3  
 Hatasch (violinist), 44  
 Haydn, Franz Joseph, 53, 164 n. 20  
 Hennenberg, Fritz, 29  
 Hesse, 50  
 Heyda, 38  
 Hill, Robert Stephen, 130  
 Hiller, Johann Adam, 14, 53, 163 n. 127  
  
 Jena, 6  
  
 Kassel, 44, 46, 52–53  
 Kauffmann, Georg Friedrich, 45

- Keller, Hermann, 111, 167 n. 29, 168 n. 9, 172 n. 25
- Kellner, Christiane Pauline, 162 n. 103
- Kellner, David, 162 n. 103
- Kellner, Johann Andreas, 46, 162 nn. 104 and 105
- Kellner, Johann Christoph, 14, 15, 20, 38, 44–45, 46, 50, 52–53, 59–60, 155 n. 3, 161 nn. 96 and 98, 163 n. 125, 164 n. 17, 172 n. 26
- Kellner, Johann Gottfried, 37
- Kellner, Johann Peter (cantor in Gräfenroda): circle of pupils and scribes, 3–4, 46–53; compositions, 15, 16, 31, 39, 79, 132, 141, 155 n. 10, 161 n. 96, 172 n. 26; as a copyist of Bach's music, 3, 19–30, 56–61, 121, 171 n. 1; interest in keyboard transcription, 47, 51, 79; life, 13–14; relationship with Bach, 14–18; as a violinist, 59–60, 164 n. 16
- Kellner, Johann Peter (lamp-black merchant), 13
- Kellner, Johann Peter (organist in Frankfurt am Main), 53
- Kilian, Dietrich, 35, 40
- Kirchoff, Gottfried, 129
- Kimberger, Johann Philipp, 6, 16, 50, 52, 129, 135, 164 n. 17
- Kittel, Johann Christian, 9, 10, 11, 103, 107, 110, 161 n. 98, 170 n. 24
- Kobayashi, Yoshitake, 158 n. 40, 161 n. 92, 168 n. 7, 171 n. 1
- Krebs, Johann Ludwig, 8, 9, 11, 26
- Krebs, Johann Tobias, 7–8, 9, 26, 59, 164 n. 13
- Kummer, Jacob, 49
- Landshoff, Ludwig, 166 n. 8
- Leipzig, 6, 8, 14, 17, 18, 19, 29, 50, 53, 114, 153 n. 9, 155 n. 7; as a creative period in Bach's life, 105–19 *passim*; its Bach circle, 4–5
- Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt (mbLpz), shelf numbers of manuscripts  
 MS. 1/10 (BWV 790), 28, 39, 79, 160 n. 79  
 MS. 1/13 (BWV 579), 28, 40, 162–63 n. 120  
 MS. 1/15 (BWV 574), 28, 42, 43–44  
 MS. 3, 79  
 MS. 3/1 (BWV 639), 27, 31, 33  
 MS. 4/3 (BWV deest), 28, 40, 141  
 MS. 4/9 (Kellner, Fugue in D Minor), 31  
 MS. 4/11 (BWV 766), 28, 40  
 MS. 7, 168 n. 31  
 MS. 7/3 (BWV 1027a), 88, 168 n. 30  
 MS. 8, 20  
 MS. 8/16 (BWV 848/1), 23, 27, 38, 156 n. 20  
 MS. R 8 (BWV 202), 27, 35, 37  
 MS. R 16/8 (BWV 951a), 27, 31, 33  
 MS. S x 11 (Locatelli trio), 165 n. 1, 168 n. 31  
 III.8.4 (Andreas Bach Book), 7, 18–19, 26, 49, 123, 129–30
- Leipzig, Stadtarchiv, 35
- Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Karl-Marx-Universität, Inv. 5137 (BWV 594), 20, 23, 27, 30, 31, 57, 101–2, 167 n. 25
- Liebenstein, 49
- Locatelli, Pietro, 113–14, 165 n. 1, 168 n. 31
- Löffler, Hans, 154 n. 1
- Lohmann, Heinz, 167 n. 30, 168 n. 8, 169 n. 9
- Lübeck, 19
- Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, Mus. U 212 (Buxtehude, "Te Deum Laudamus"), 155 n. 12
- Lüneburg, 7
- "Manualiter" indication, 103, 113
- Manuscript copies of Bach's music: defined and explained, 2–3
- Marpurg, Friedrich Wilhelm, 116, 129
- Marshall, Robert L., 103, 166 n. 12
- Mattheson, Johann, 1–2
- Meil ("Herr"), 16
- Mempell, Johann Nicolaus, 9, 17, 38, 50, 88, 99, 137
- "Mempell-Preller Collection," 8–9, 26, 29, 38, 99
- Mey, Wolfgang Nicolaus, 18, 30, 31, 37, 43, 44, 47, 129, 135–41, 157 n. 33, 159 nn. 57 and 58, 163 n. 120
- "Michel" (copyist), 127
- Möller Manuscript. *See* Berlin (West), Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. 40644
- Moser, Andreas, 64, 65
- Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, 53, 164 n. 20
- Muffat, Gottlieb, 168 n. 7
- Mühlhausen, 6, 7

Musica Antiqua Köln, 173 nn. 36 and 41  
 "Mylau Tabulaturbuch," 135

Nagel, Johann Heinrich, 13, 15

Nagel, Johann Peter, 13, 15

Nagel, Sebastian, 15

Naumann, Ernst, 103, 107, 169 nn. 18 and 19

Neue Bach-Ausgabe (NBA), 56, 123, 165 n. 23, 166 n. 16, 171 n. 4

Neumann, Werner, 162 n. 108

Notation in manuscripts and prints of  
 Bach's music: cancellation of sharps, 74,  
 166 n. 13; clefs used for keyboard works,  
 105–7, 145–52; "dorian" notation, 111,  
 137; French violin clef, 73, 166 n. 7; "partimento," 127; performance instructions,  
 9–10

Ohrdruf, 6, 18–19, 31, 158 n. 37

Olofsen, Arnaldo, 161 n. 97

Pachelbel, Johann, 45

Plath, Wolfgang, 170 n. 26

Preller, Johann Gottlieb, 9, 38, 129

Princeton, Princeton University Library,  
 AM 16915 (*Orgelbuch* of H. N. Gerber),  
 156 n. 16

Quehl, Hieronymous Florentius, 13

Reception history: defined, 1

Rembt, Johann Ernst, 45, 52, 53, 162 nn.  
 100 and 101, 163 n. 127, 164 n. 17

Riedel, Friedrich Wilhelm, 168 n. 7

Rinck, Johann Christian Heinrich, 53

Ringk, Johannes, 6, 16, 17, 30, 33–35, 47–  
 49, 50, 52, 59, 122, 137, 159 nn. 60, 61,  
 and 64, 162 n. 112, 164 n. 20, 171 n. 3

Sammlung Voss, 88

Saxony, 18

Scherlitz, Johann Valentin, 50, 164 n. 17

Schmidt, J. C., 156 n. 23

Schmidt, Johann, 13, 18

Schmieder, Wolfgang, 111, 135

Schübler, Johann Georg, 16, 18

Schulze, Hans-Joachim, 157 n. 24, 159 n.  
 54

Schwerin, Wissenschaftliche Allgemein-

bibliothek des Bezirkes, Mus. 945/16  
 (BWV Anh. 153, Telemann overtures),  
 135–41, 173 n. 39

Scribes. *See* Anonymous scribes

Seebergen, 40

Seiffert, Max, 167 n. 30

Siegele, Ulrich, 72–73, 96, 166 nn. 11, 12,  
 and 14

Sondershausen, 6, 8, 16, 50

Spern, Bernhard, 29

Spitta, Philipp, 18, 102, 122, 156 n. 23

Stauffer, George B., 105–6, 108, 110–11,  
 170 n. 26, 171 n. 42

Stölzel, Gottfried Heinrich, 29, 33, 35, 159  
 n. 61, 167 n. 21

Stoss, Johann Michael, 25

Suhl, 13, 45

Swieten, Baron van, 5

Tartini, Giuseppe, 164 n. 20, 165 n. 1

Telemann, Georg Philipp, 15–16, 40, 79,  
 137, 141–43, 165 n. 1, 168 n. 31, 171 n. 1

Telemann-Werke-Verzeichnis (TWV), 173 n.  
 39

Thieme, Carl August, 157 n. 31

Thuringia: as a geographical region, 6; its  
 Bach circle, 4, 6–11

Tuning of keyboard instruments, 57

Vetter, Nicolaus, 135

Vienna, 5, 168 n. 7

Vivaldi, Antonio, 52, 135–37

Vogler, Johann Caspar, 8, 15, 18, 125–27,  
 132, 156 n. 24

Walther, Johann Gottfried, 7–8, 9, 15–16,  
 18, 26, 45, 142–43, 154 n. 21, 174 nn. 45  
 and 46

Watermarks in the Kellner-circle Bach  
 manuscripts, 25–29, 158 n. 40

Wechmar, J. C., 35

Wechmar, Johann Anton Friedrich, 37

Wechmar, Johann Anton Gottfried, 31, 35–  
 38, 39, 40, 44, 50–51, 79, 156 n. 19, 159  
 n. 67, 160 nn. 70 and 79, 167 n. 21

Wechmar (village), 35, 40

Weimar, 1, 7–8, 9, 15–16, 29, 38, 142–43

Weiss, Wiso, 25

Wenigen-Ehrich, 8

Westphal, Johann Christian, 46, 162 n. 105

Westphal, Johann Christoph, 162 n. 105  
Williams, Peter, 116–17, 121–22, 164 n. 20  
Wölffis, 49  
Wuckelin, Margaretha, 13

Yale University Library of the School of  
Music (*Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm*

*Friedemann Bach*, no shelf number). See  
*Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann*  
*Bach* in Index to Cited Works  
Young, Percy M., 155 n. 7

Zella, 13, 16, 18









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